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ABSTRACT

Emphasizing human geography, this collection of 10 papers is designed to constitute basic lecture topics for a college level course concerned with Native American human geography and to serve as a guide to published materials and primary data/documentary sources on Native Americans. Comprised of three sections, this publication includes an exemplary course syllabus, seven papers on various aspects of human geography, and three papers which describe and/or list both published and unpublished sources for geographic study of Native Americans. Papers are titled as follows: "Where Are the Indians?" (the syllabus); "Native American Traditional Economic Values and Systems: Some Dispersed Samples"; "The Mormon Indian Farms: An Attempt at Cultural Integration"; "Some Concepts of Sacred Space Among North American Indians"; "Native American Employment in a Frontier Region"; "A Geographical Analysis of Demographic and Economic Characteristics of the Choctaw Indian in Oklahoma and Mississippi"; "American Indian Migrant Spatial Behavior as an Indicator of Adjustment in Chicago"; "The American Indian Family in Los Angeles"; "National Archives and Records Service Resources for the Study of Native Americans"; "Material of Geographic Import in the National Anthropological Archives"; "Census Data and Native Americans". (JC)

GEOGRAPHICAL PERSPECTIVES ON NATIVE AMERICANS:

TOPICS AND RESOURCES

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FOREWORD

American geographers have, for some strange reason, tended to overlook Native Americans as subjects of study and as constituent topics of human geography courses. Rarely do discussions involving Native Americans appear beyond the first chapter or two of a geography thesis or book, or beyond the first week or two of a college or university geography course. Certainly, there are exceptions to this statement - a significant number of which can trace their roots back, directly or indirectly, to Berkeley and the influence of Carl Sauer, his colleagues, and their students. Only recently has there developed a widespread willingness among American geographers to study Native American topics. Consequently, the maturation of a geographic literature bearing upon Native Americans seems to be many years away. The integration of Native American topics into human geography courses is, undoubtedly, even further away, considering the usual lag between research and the dissemination of that research.

Recognizing both the dearth of topical literature and the lag time mentioned above, the AAG Associated Committee on Native Americans decided to publish this collection of papers as an interim activity - an activity which would expedite professional research on, and facilitate dissemination of information about, aspects of Native American geography. This publication represents an elaboration of the poster session, with the same title, presented during the 1976 AAG meeting in New York, and is a forerunner of a more lengthy, formal publication being organized around the same theme, but with different objectives. This publication has a dual purpose: it is intended to provide organizational assistance and lecture material for a course concerned partially or entirely with geography of Native Americans, and to function as a guide to published materials and primary data/documentary sources and their accessibility.

This volume is divided into three section. Section I, "Course Organization", consists of a representative syllabus illustrating one possible structure for a course in the geography of Native Americans.

So far as we know, this syllabus represents the only course dealing specifically with Native American geography to be offered in the United States. Section II, "Lecture Topics", consists of seven research papers, each suitable for use as a lecture topic but, in addition, a contribution in its own right. The first three papers have a generally historical orientation, while the latter four are primarily concerned with contemporary Native American patterns and processes. Section III, "Resources", contains papers listing or describing published and unpublished sources important to the continued development of geographic study of Native Americans, and to the dissemination of this information in the classroom.

Authors were requested to prepare papers in an annotated outline format rather than in the more traditional, gracefully contoured style. This departure in style - the "skeleton" approach - was considered appropriate in light of the objectives of the publication, objectives much more pragmatic and utilitarian than aesthetic. Providing an outline of a lecture topic with strong bibliographic support was the primary consideration in designing the research, or "lecture topic", paper format. The nature of individual paper topics, the authors' personal style preferences, and the compromise between timely publication and editorial refinement have, however, resulted in a collection of diversely structured papers. This collection was conceived as an experiment, and was planned as a tool. Hopefully, it will prove to be a useful and productive experiment.

We extend our thanks and appreciation to the authors of papers contained in this publication. Without their cooperation in completing and forwarding copies of their papers to us well in advance of the New York AAG meeting, we would not have been able to complete the duplication on the originally scheduled date. We owe a special debt of gratitude to Beverly McDonald, of the UCLA Graduate School of Management, who criticized and typed portions of these papers, and, finally, effected their duplication and binding.

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I. COURSE ORGANIZATION

WHERE ARE THE INDIANS?

SYLLABUS FOR A GEOGRAPHY OF AMERICAN INDIANS

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[This syllabus was used by Dr. Hamburg in a course on the Geography of American Indians offered at Moorhead State University the summer of 1975. We felt that the inclusion of an outline of this type would be useful as an organizational aid, and as a foundation from which other courses, dealing partially or wholly with Native American subject matter, might be supplemented or developed. To our knowledge, this represents the first and only university course devoted entirely to the subject of Native American geography to be offered in the United States. We would very much like to know of other, similar courses if they exist. Eds.]

SYLLABUS

WHERE ARE THE INDIANS? Geography 421
July 15-24, 1975

Tuesday, July 15:

A. Introduction:
   1. Delimitation of geographic area:
      a. Limited to the United States, Canada and Greenland
   2. Definition of terms:
      a. Native Americans
      b. American Indians
      c. Eskimoes
      d. Others
B. Indian Populations between 1492 and 1975:
C. Estimated Locations of Indian Groups in 1492

Wednesday, July 16:

A. The Affects of the Physical Environment on the Locations of Indian Groups in 1492:
   1. Water Features and Landforms
   2. Climate
   3. Flora
   4. Fauna
B. How the Indians and Their Activities Affected the Settlement of Whites:
   1. Transportation routes of white people often followed Indian trails
   2. Cities and farms of whites often located on Indian "old fields" (where the Indians often had their villages and gardens)
   3. Friendliness or hostility of Indians often affected white settlement.

Thursday, July 17:

A. How contact with the Europeans affected the geography of the Indians:
   1. The affects of contacts with all Europeans from 1492 to 1607
   2. The affects of the English colonies in the United States on the location of the Indians from 1607 to 1775.
   3. The affects of contact with the English on the geography of the Indians in Canada from 1607 to 1878 (Canada confederated into a nation in 1867).
   4. The affects of Spanish and Mexican contacts on Indian geography in the United States from 1500 to 1848.
   5. The affects of the French and Russians on Indian geography in the United States and Canada from 1600 to 1867.

Friday, July 18:

A. The Locations of Indians in the United States from 1775 to 1849 (During this period all relations of the U.S. with the Indians were under the War Department; after this date the Department of the Interior became largely responsible for Indian affairs):
   1. East Coast
   2. West of the Applachians and east of the Mississippi River:
      a. North of the Ohio River
      b. South of the Ohio River
   3. West of the Mississippi River, including Indian Territory (Oklahoma).

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Friday, July 18 (continued):

B. Factors affecting the Locations and Changes of Locations of the Indians:
   1. Treaties
   2. Wars
   3. Other factors:
      a. Disease
      b. Trade
C. Establishment of the Reservation System
D. Establishment of Reservations Often Resulted in Indians Being Moved Far from the Homes of their Ancestors:
   1. Indians of the Southeast were moved to Oklahoma.
   2. Indians of Ohio, Indiana, Michigan and Illinois moved to Kansas and Iowa.
   3. Other movements

Monday, July 21:

A. Locations of Indians (including those on reservations) from 1849 to 1890 (year of last major Indian war):
   1. East of the Mississippi River
   2. West Coast and Alaska
   3. Between the Rocky Mountains and the Sierra Nevadas
   4. Between the Mississippi River and the Rocky Mountains
B. Factors Affecting the Locations of the Indians During this Period:
   1. Treaties
   2. Wars
   3. Other factors

Tuesday, July 22:

A. Geography of the Indians from 1890 to 1924 (when they were granted full citizenship):
   1. Reservations and their populations
   2. Non-reservation rural Indians
   3. Indians in the cities
B. Period Was One of Major Social Change for the Indians, and These Changes Affected the Locations of the Indians:
   1. The last nomadic and/or belligerent Indians began accepting certain changes; although many had accepted the changes at an earlier date:
      a. Resigned themselves to confinement on reservations
      b. Accepted agriculture as a means to earn a living
      c. Christianity
      d. Other accoutrements of white culture

Wednesday, July 23:

A. Indian Reservation from 1924 to 1975:
   1. Number and location of reservations
   2. Populations of the reservations
   3. Reasons for Indians remaining on reservations:
      a. Close family and social ties are usually strong among Indians
      b. Reservations serve as citadels of Indian culture
B. Brief Review of Problems on the Reservations in 1975
C. Reservations Which Have Been Eliminated:
   1. Locations
   2. Reasons for elimination

Wednesday, July 23 (continued):

D. The Future of the Reservations
E. Indians Living in the Cities in 1975:
    1. Cities with large populations of Indians:
        a. Numbers of Indians in cities
        b. Reasons for certain cities having large Indian populations:
            (1) Proximity to reservations
            (2) Availability of employment

Thursday, July 24:

A. Indians Living in Cities in 1975 (continued from Wednesday):
    1. Reasons Indians Leave reservations to live in cities:
        a. To seek employment
        b. Adventure
    2. Locations of Indians within the cities:
        a. Indian ghettoes
        b. Other locations
B. Projections of Future Indian Populations in the Cities
C. Brief Review of the Course
D. Final Exam

II. LECTURE TOPICS

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NATIVE AMERICAN TRADITIONAL ECONOMIC VALUES AND SYSTEMS: SOME DISPERSED SAMPLES

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ABSTRACT: It is a personal hypothesis that the economic values of traditional tribal cultures are essentially the same, even though other cultural characteristics may demonstrate considerable diversity. The hypothesis further states that the economic values and systems of traditional tribalism are essentially an extension of the economic-ethical values and practices of the nuclear family carried over into the extended family, the small local tribal community, the clan, and to some degree, the entire tribe. It is a further contention that these same values, attitudes and attributes are to be found in the sacred writings and scriptures of most of the world's major religions. However it should be noted that these values and ethical behavioral patterns are often reserved solely for the "in group", whether the ethnocentric group be the extended family, the clan, the tribe or whether it represent the "church" in the broadest sense or whether it is restricted to the local congregation. This paper will examine the traditional ethical economic values and systems of seven dispersed samples of seven Native American cultures.

In many ways the above hypothesis has evolved slowly and somewhat painfully for it took considerable personal exposure of associating with a number of people representing other cultures before a common strand of values began to manifest itself. Initially, the quest to test the above hypothesis started out as a rather different sort of inquiry, which was prompted by one of my graduate school professors proclaiming that his economic philosophy was that: "Society could best be served by each individual pursuing his own selfish self-interest". At that time it was inconceivable that any intelligent person subscribing to the Judaic-Christian ideals of ethics and morality would seriously attempt to "deify" Adam -

Smith's invisible hand. Not being a student of theology, and wondering if the world was and should be propelled by self-interest, it seemed that the logical next step would be one of finding out what the religious sages had said, as found recorded in the canonized scriptures.

During the period when the scriptures were being combed for statements on economic philosophy, I met and visited with the first American Indian I had ever known, a Mohawk by the name of Philip Cook. One evening while visiting with Phil and his wife, Mary, at their home in St. Regis, New York, the conversation led to economic values as found in the scriptures. After two or three hours of visiting and discussing these scriptures, Mr. Cook, who was to become a very close friend, commented: "Do you know what you have been reading to me? You have been reading the philosophy of the Iroquois Nation."

From New York State my habitat shifted to Arizona of the Southwest where there is a high concentration of the Nation's Indian population. My first close contact with Arizona Indians was with the small Maricopa tribe located near Phoenix. In conversation, which I taped, with one of the oldest men in the community, he referred to the working together and sharing that was part of the life in the community and sadly said: "This spirit isn't here anymore".

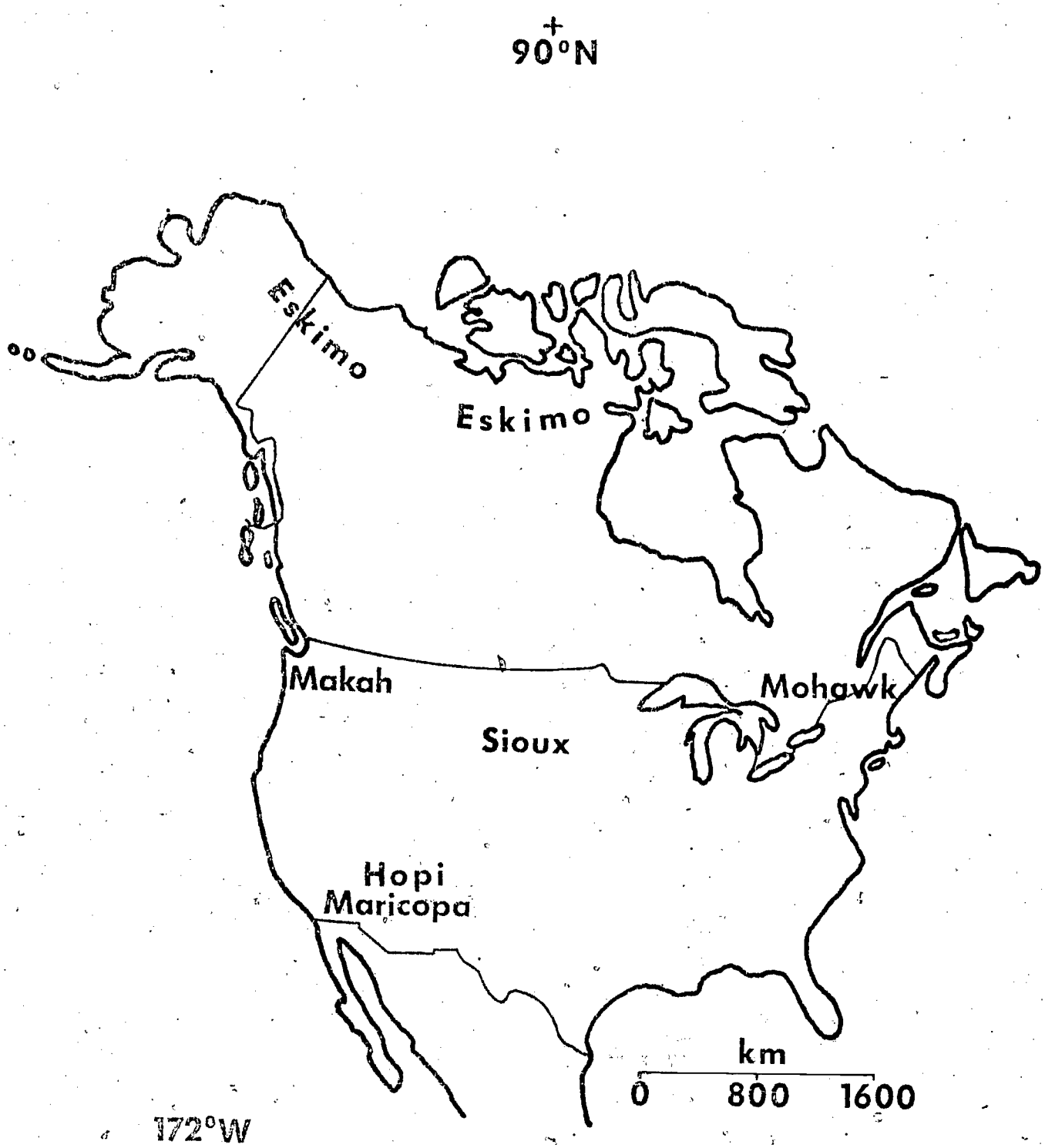
Various kinds of activities over the past two decades have given me the opportunity to become acquainted with a number of Indian people, both professionally trained and those at the reservation and community level. From associating with these people, from diverse Indian cultures, there began to evolve a common strand of values as it pertains to ethical economic values of the various tribal groups. I have found this same commonality of values with a number of African students at ASU, with tribal groups in Latin America and Asia as described by Peace Corps volunteers, and with a pleasant acquaintance with a small group of Maori people who toured the U.S. on a Ford Foundation exchange grant a few years ago.

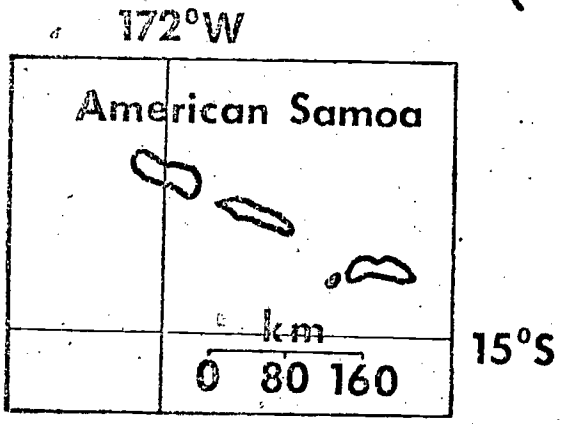
This paper is an attempt to present, through library research, some excerpts

of the traditional economic values of Native Americans. The paper considers the following seven cultures: First, the Mohawk and/or the Iroquois, because this is where my quest began. The Mohawks were a forest tribe living in a microthermal climatic environment. I will next consider the Maricopa tribe because, with this tribe, I devoted some ten years of rather intensive activity, became intimately acquainted with present day Indian problems, came to appreciate the spiritual insights of mystical traditionalists, and came to perceive that Indians by nature are a very gentle gentile people. This tribe inhabits a tropical desert environment where, historically, they combined agriculture with hunting and gathering. The Hopis have been selected as third choice because they have traditionally been pacifists, many have tenaciously clung to their old ways, and they live in a climatic environment resembling the midlatitude desert. The Hopi are traditionally agriculturists farming in a harsh environment with little rain and a short growing season. The Hopi are probably the most traditional of all the Pueblo group.

The fourth tribe to consider is the Sioux, again primarily because of the encouragement received from an Ogalala Sioux friend and leader who has done much to encourage me in my research endeavors. In contrast with the Hopis, the Sioux are a warrior tribe, which, historically, lived as hunters in the midlatitude steppe grasslands. The fifth tribe, one in which I have no personal acquaintances, is the Makah, a potlatch tribe of the extreme Northwest contiguous United States. In many ways the potlatch are very different from other American tribes; they are a forest people living in a mesothermal climate, and historically sustained themselves in large part with marine life from the ocean.

The sixth consideration is not a tribe in the narrowest sense, but a general consideration of the Eskimo; both general and more specific references are included. Selecting the Eskimo provides an opportunity of looing at some non-Indian Native Americans who have adapted to a harsh polar environment. As a seventh tribe, I have selected the Samoan because of their Polynesian kinship





NATIVE AMERICANS:

Some Dispersed Samples.

with the Maori (the latter could not be considered as being Native Americans, but hopefully American Samoa would qualify). Climatically, Samoa has many aspects of the tropical rainforest.

This paper, therefore, gives a brief summary of the traditional ethical-economic values of seven Native American cultures exhibiting considerable cultural diversity and representing varied bio-climatic environments. To what extent do they share a common strand of ethical economic values?

I. THE MOHAWKS

Within the Iroquois Confederacy, the Mohawks were called "the fountain of good works" and were "sponsors of crucial matters in the councils". (Johnson 1964, p xxx). Over the years much has been written about the Iroquois and the strength that came from the five tribe confederacy which also adopted other tribes into the confederacy. There are claims that the philosophy and practices of the Iroquois confederation served as a model for the framers of our own Constitution with its representative form of government. It also served as an idealized model of the classless economic society envisioned by Marx, Engels and Lenin. "...The actual Hiawatha is much better known in Russia than in his native land." (Henry 1955, pp 19 and 237-243)

The Mohawks and the other members of the confederacy early attracted attention of numerous people, one such person was the Honorable Cadwallader Colden, who was adopted into the Mohawk tribe and in the 1700's had the following to say about "his" tribesmen:

> "Their great Men, both Sachems and Captains, are generally poorer than the common People; for they affect to give away and distribute all the Presents or Plunder they get in their Treaties or in War, as to leave nothing to themselves. There is not a Man in the Ministry of the Five Nations, who has gained his Office, otherwise than by Merit..." (Colden 1904, p XVIII)

Colden also states: "The Five Nations have such absolute Notions of Liberty, that they allow of No Kind of Superiority of one over another, and banish all Servitude from their Territories." (Colden 1904, p XXVIII)

He continues by saying:

> "The Hospitality of these Indians is no less remarkable, than their other Virtues; as soon as any Stranger comes, they are sure to offer him Victuals. If there be several in Company, and some from a-far, one of their best Houses is cleaned and given up for their Entertainment." (Colden 1904, p XXXIX and XXX)

In the literature numerous accounts are to be found where French and English colonists were captured by the Iroquois and when given the opportunity to return to their people they preferred to remain with their Indian associates, while on the other hand, Colden didn't know of one instance where Indian children educated in colonist schools elected to remain in the dominate society after completing their education. (Colden 1904, pp 262-263) This would indicate that these Native Americans must have had an attractive life style.

One of the early and continuing philosophical conflicts between the Iroquois and their "white" benefactors was the issue of communal versus the private ownership of land. In 1842 the Canadian government appointed a commission to examine the condition of Indians and in 1844 the commission submitted its report, which among other things said:

> "Owing to the peculiar Title under which the Indians hold their lands and their incapacity to alienate them, they continue as in their uncivilized state to hold them in common.
>
> Every Member has an equal right, with the sanction of the Chiefs, to choose and mark off a plot of land for himself in any unoccupied part of the reserve, and to occupy as much as he can cultivate--In their wild state they actually cultivate one large field in common but in most of the settlements in Canada they have advanced beyond this stage, and each cultivates his own field or farm..." (Johnson 1964, pp 303-304)

Lewis H. Morgan, who has on occasion been referred to as the father of American anthropology, expresses a similar point of view in his writings about the Iroquois in 1851, when he states that:

> "The lands of the Iroquois are still held in common, the title being vested in the people. Their progress towards a higher agricultural land has rendered this ancient tenure a source of inconvenience; although they are not as yet prepared for their division among the people...When the Iroquois reach such a stable position, as agriculturists, as to make it safe to divide their lands among the several families of each nation, with the power of alienation, it will give to them that stimulus and ambition which separate rights of property are so well calculated to produce." (Morgan 1954, p 118-119)

Morgan also pointed out that the "individual owned, to use a convenient measure, only what he could carry with him; his clothing and ornaments, the mat on which he slept, his weapons, his pipe and his kettle." (Morgan 1954, p 272)

What is the origin of the Mohawk ethical economic values and virtues that have been quoted? The Judaic-Christian culture can trace its idealized values to various religious prophets and teachers. What about the Mohawks? Iroquois legend tells of a great Huron Indian teacher who came among the Mohawks sometime between 1390 and 1570, whose name was Deganawidah (the Master of Things) and was adopted by them. His message was peace and his mission was to establish the white roots of peace; and according to Wallace: "...the Mohawks were the first nation to take hold of the Great Peace. They were the founders of the League." (Wallace 1946, pp 11,17,30) One of Deganawidah's first disciples was Hiawatha, an Onondaga by birth, but a Mohawk by adoption, who indulged in the eating of human flesh prior to the coming of Deganawidah. (Wallace 1946, p 4) Although Hiawatha changed his cannibalistic habits he could not forget the suffering he had caused, thus he was counselled by the Messenger of Peace to "Heal thy memories by working to make justice prevail. Bring peace to those places where thou has done injury to man." (Wallace 1946, p 15-16)

Hiawatha became a man of fire, a man of feeling, whose eloquence won converts to Deganawidah's visions. His name means "He Who Combs", for he combed the twists out of men's perverted minds. (Wallace 1946, p 4) To have peace, Deganawidah pointed out that there must be "strength from union, freedom from fear, and freedom from want," which was "...taken care of in the provision that the hunting grounds should be open to all. There was to be common access to raw materials. We shall have one dish in which shall be placed one beaver's tail, and we shall have co-equal right to it..." (Wallace 1946, pp 31-32) Deganawidah also stressed freedom of religion and freedom of speech and according to Wallace, it was recognized that "great freedom demands, for its preservation, great self-restraint". (Wallace 1946, p 32)

Henry in his Wilderness Messiah also gives a rather extensive account of Deganawidah (he spells it Degandawida) and Hiawatha, and he also mentions briefly a later mystic among the Iroquois, Ganiodayo, or Handsome Lake, who shortly after the American Revolution, fell into a trance and went on a journey with personages to the "other side" where he received instruction for his people. Henry reports that "...Handsome Lake was extremely reactionary. He opposed missions, schools, white methods of agriculture, and above all, 'business'." (Henry 1955, p 146).

To what extent have other tribes and cultures fallen into cannibalism and other practices that might be presumed to be inhumane in nature? To what extent have these cultures, at some time in their history, had their own Deganawidahs, Hiawathas, and Handsome Lakes, much as our own culture has had its periodic prophets, sages and wise men?

II. THE MARICOPAS

The Maricopas do not have a replica of Deganawidah or even Hiawatha or a Handsome Lake. But they have had their dreamers, their mystics, who have continually "cried in the wilderness" calling for a continuation or a renewal of the "old ways". Even today there are those who have had dreams, who have had visions and who claim to have heard the word of God, and have come to accept Christ, but who refuse to become affiliated with any Christian denomination. For they say, "why should we become Christians when our Maricopa religion teaches us much the same thing, and you Christians don't live the teachings of Christ?" Is such a statement valid?

Over forty years ago Leslie Spier studied the Maricopa in some detail and excerpts from his study will tend to verify the high ethical values of the Maricopas. For example:

> "A lad dared not eat any animal, bird, or fish he caught. He brought it home and butchered it, but he had to give it away to older people. This tabu applied not only to his first kill, but continued until he was full grown, twenty-five or thirty." (Spier 1932, p 66)

The Maricopas emphasized that no one owned the land, "...we all owned it, so that a man could choose what land he pleased." (Spier 1932, p 60)

The mesquite bean, a legume, sweet tasting and high in protein, was a stable food of the Maricopa and "...certain trees were known for large or sweet beans, but these were not private property." (Spier 1932, p 50).

Many of the economic activities were both individually oriented and organized communally such as the hunting of rabbits: "... Organized drives were sometimes decided on at evening meetings. One man was chosen as leader, who assigned men to their positions." (Spier 1932, p 66) The hunting of deer used another approach for:

> "...deer were quite scarce. They had to hunt hard for them and shared the flesh if they were obtained... Deer hunting was undertaken by the few who understood tracking them... A man who knew how to hunt them was looked up to; they waited for him to set the day for hunting and always expected him to succeed." (Spier 1932, p 68-69)

Fishing out of the Salt River was either a private and/or communal activity, and for the latter, nets were frequently used to catch fish which "...were always cooked by men, who served their wives before themselves. No reason was assigned for this other than that it was so strongly customary as to be obligatory." (Spier 1932, p 77)

Spier's account would indicate that reciprocal sharing of food and services was the norm among the Maricopas for he writes:

> "A woman would cook a large vessel full of pumpkin, then go about the village gathering bowls from other women, and share out the pumpkin in these until all was gone. She carried them to the owners, who in turn brought her something."
>
> "Men ordinarily ate first, morning or evening; then the women and children of the household. But if there were present visitors of either sex, friends and relatives, of whatever status, they were served before the men. It happened to be the general rule that women served their husbands first, but this was because most foodstuffs were vegetal. Actually whoever cooked served the others first. Thus, men prepared the small game they killed -- rabbits, fish, quail -- and served their wives first. That is, 'they treated each other alike'...Those who were fastidious washed out their mouths before and after morning meal. Some would bath before coming to breakfast." (Spier 1932, p 80-81)

In terms of leadership, men did not strive to be the chief or community leader for "practically he was chosen by the people of his village; they simply came to him for advice and to have him address them, until he came to be recognized

as chief. In native theory, however, he dreamed his position..."

> "His successor was his son or other close relative in the patrilineal line...Normally the inheritor was a son (not of necessity the eldest son) because it was assumed that 'the son had been instructed by his father, but they would pass over an incompetent son for a close relative on the father's side'. The successor's competence was taken as a sign that he in his turn, had had the requisite dreams." (Spier 1932, p 156)
>
> "The functions of the chief seem to have been slight; his authority more admonitory than coercive. He rose early in the morning and called the villagers. Talking to the men first, he admonished them to go out to hunt, to feed their wives and children. He told the women to hasten to prepare the meal so the men could start...He looked after the meeting house and called men to the meetings." (Spier 1932, p 158)
>
> "As the evening came on, the chief would stand in the open to call the men to the meeting: 'they might have something to discuss'...No one was allowed to sleep, because the older men were delivering admonitions and advice to their juniors; telling them not to gamble, to treat their wives well, not to beg even though starving, not to be lazy and the like." (Spier 1932, p 159)

These few quotations from Leslie Spier's forty year old study give a small insight into the ethical economic values of the Maricopas. From my own acquaintance and association with these people, many old values still linger with the older somewhat traditional-oriented Maricopas, even after 200 years of the Spanish and the Anglos trying to Christianize and "civilize" the "heathen". How long can the Native American withstand the constant barrage of trying to bring them into the "mainstream" of the "American Way of Life?"

III. THE HOPI

"Peaceful, good and happy" -- these mean Hopi (Thompson 1946, p 56). "The Hopi Indians are so different in so many ways from most of the Indian tribes of the Americas that the question often arises, even among the Hopi themselves, as to who these "peaceful people" are. Where did they come from? How did their unique way of life come about?" (James 1974, p xi)

> "The Hopis believe that the early Mayan, Toltecs, and Aztecs were aberrant Hopi clans who failed to complete their fourfold migrations, remaining in Middle America to build mighty cities which perished because they failed to perpetuate their ordained religious patterns." (Waters 1963, pp 143-144)

Could it be that somewhere in Hopi history they had their equivalent of Deganawidah, and could that replica have been Quetzalcoatl, the Aztec god of

learning and of the priesthood? Further, is it possible that the Aztecs may have perverted the teachings of Quetzalcoatl as the Western World has perverted the teachings of Christ and that the Hopis were a small "apostate" religious cult that more nearly hued to the "straight and narrow"? Interestingly both the Aztecs and the Hopis regarded their first exposure to the Spanish as the return of the great white god.

The Hopis had long anticipated the return of their white brother, Pahana, as had the Mayas expected the return of Kukulan, a bearded white god. It had been prophesized that Pahana would return in about the year 1519, the year Cortes landed in Mexico, and also the year that the Aztecs and Toltecs expected the return of Quetzalcoatl. So when a detachment of Coronado's expedition arrived in Hopiland in 1540, some 20 years later than expected, could the Hopis be sure that it was the return of Pahana? Baloloking the great water serpent of the Hopi Water Clan Legend had counselled:

> "When a stranger comes to the village, feed him. Do not injure one another, because all beings deserve to live together without injury being done to them. When people are old and cannot work any more, do not turn them out to shift for themselves, but take care of them. Defend yourselves when an enemy comes to your village, but do not go out seeking war. The Hopis shall take this counselling and make it the Hopi Way." (Courlander 1971, p 80)

When the Spanish failed to perform symbolically as had been agreed upon when Pahana departed many legendary years before, the Hopi chiefs knew that Pahana had forgotten the ancient agreement. Nevertheless the Hopis were ready to live up to their part of the agreement, for:

> "...it was understood that when the two were finally reconciled, each would correct the other's laws and faults; they would live side by side and share in common all the riches of the land..." (Waters 1963, pp 307-309)

Living their part of the agreement was not difficult for they were a cooperative egalitarian people. For example:

> "By arrangement with the heads of households certain days were set aside for the harvesting of different fields which were closer to the village than they are now. Men and women would form a long line stretching from house

> to the fields, each individual ten or more paces from the next. The baskets would be filled with corn and passed on from one worker to the next until they arrived at the field owner's house where they would be received by the women and prepared for storage... The usual working party feast was held in the evening." (Beaglehold 1937, p 43)

"Springs, gardens, and farm lands were owned collectively by the clan group and are distributed for use to the household groups." (Thompson 1950, p 67) However Brandt contends that:

> "The Hopi definitely look up to a materially prosperous person. They are aware of the desirability of improving one's economic position... Hopi do not want their daughters to marry men who cannot give them some comforts in life, and they look with favor on an ambitious and industrious young man. But there is no spirit of competition." (Brandt 1954, pp 27-28)

In the Hopi language the word for "to pray" also means "to will, to wish, to want". (Thompson 1946, p 44) This then has application for everyone in the community and especially the village chief for they:

> "...are trained from childhood to lead poised, spiritually-centered lives. Their duty is to apprehend and interpret the law of nature, to 'pray-will' for the welfare of the group... The individual's success in life, the welfare of the tribe, and to a certain extent the smooth functioning of the whole order of nature, hinge on man's carrying out the rules of the universe-- in cooperation with his non-human partners -- wholeheartedly and with an effort of the will." (Thompson 1946, pp 34,44,45)

Who are the non-human partners? "Hopi institutions express faith in an harmonious universe in which nature, the gods, plants, animals, and men are interdependent and work together systematically and reciprocally for the mutual welfare of all." (Thompson 1950, p 66) The peaceful, good and happy traits of the Hopi stress the following:

> "1. Strength: self-control, wisdom; physical endurance and fortitude. 2. Poise: balance, freedom from anxiety, tranquility, 'quietness of heart', concentration on 'good' thoughts. 3. Lawfulness: responsibility, active cooperation, kindness, unselfishness. 4. Peacefulness: non-aggression, non-quarrlesomeness, modesty. 5. Protectiveness: fertility-promotion and life-conservation rather than injury or destruction to life in any of its manifestations, including: human beings, animals and plants. 6. Freedom from illness." (Thompson 1946, p 64)

To the above list might also be added the attribute that is stressed repeatedly in our own society, namely that of freedom, which is no less of a concern for the Hopi. But in stressing freedom we tend to minimize the Hopi companion attribute

of self-discipline. In the mind of the Hopi, freedom and discipline are complimentary, not antagonistic, thus the Hopi viewpoint: "...freedom is implicitly a function of discipline and vice versa." (Thompson 1946, p 59). It is interesting how similar the Hopi philosophy on freedom and discipline coincides with that of Deganawidah who stated: "Freedom demands for its preservation, great self-restraint".

The Hopi villages have to a large extent remained small democratic theocratic city states where:

> "...practically everyone is related both by kinship and by religious ties. This means that everyone in the pueblo is related not only by blood but also by connection with a system of secret societies which control the religious life of the pueblo. The leaders in these small communities are in constant personal contact with the people, decisions are customarily reached through unanimous consent, and every individual in the group is charged with personal responsibility for its welfare." (Thompson 1946, p 22)

> "...the clan is still the heart of Hopi society... A clan is comprised of several families, the members of each family being related through matrilineal descent and taking the clan name of the mother. The name and functions of the family are of little importance; it is the clan that counts determining the standing of the individual in both religious and secular matters." (Waters 1963, p 146)

> "The Hopi code stressed the view that the individual is merely one unit in a complex social whole which can function harmoniously only through the individual's assumption of complete personal responsibility as a member of society and not simply as a separate and independent unit." (Thompson 1950, p 126)

Since 1540 the Hopi culture has been in jeopardy and many are convinced that it will and should erode away. But one wonders who should "Christianize" whom? And there may be, even today, modern Hopi messiahs crying in the wilderness and kicking against the pricks. In 1961, a resident of Hotevilla, the most traditional village of the Hopi Mesas, which proclaims that it is an independent nation, wrote to a friend in Germany and among other things stated:

> "Today, majority of the Indians have lost most of their homelands, their way of life completely destroyed and many of them are now INDIANS WITHOUT A COUNTRY! ALL DUE TO THE FACT THAT RED MAN WANTS TO BE WHAT THEY ARE: TO LIVE THEIR WAY OF LIFE AND TO HOLD IN COMMON ALL LAND IN ACCORDANCE WITH THE GREAT SPIRIT'S INSTRUCTIONS!... Great Spirit said: 'It is up to you, if you are willing to live my poor, humble and simple life. It is hard

> but if you are willing to live according to my Teachings and Instructions and will NEVER lose faith in the life I shall give you, you may come and live with me' ...Hopi has been warned never to take up arms...Those who are saved will share everything equally." (A personal letter from a Hopi to a European friend, January 12, 1961)

IV. THE SIOUX

In many ways there are extreme differences to be found between the Sioux and the Hopi. Thompson points out that "... the 'hero' theme, so popular in Western European and American folklore, is foreign to the Hopi." (Thompson 1946, p 85) Similarly, Brandt points out that "The Hopi occasionally engaged in offensive warfare, but, in general like the other pueblo peoples, they seemingly disliked it, and certainly war was no prestige-bringing sport, as it was among the Plains tribes." (Brandt 1954, p 21)

According to Hassrick, the Sioux were motivated for war because:

> "For the individual, warfare meant an opportunity to acquire property. Capturing horses from the enemy was the direct way to attain wealth and influence. Warfare also meant a sure road to prestige and leadership. Men with the most impressive record of war honors were to be reckoned with in matters of state."
>
> "Warfare also implied ensuring the economic base of Sioux society, for only in protecting and expanding the territory in which the buffalo were most plentiful could the Sioux expect to retain an unparalleled national wealth. That their territory was coveted, that their wealth in horses was desirable, were apparent beyond doubt, for the Sioux were as subject to attack and pillage as their enemies were exposed to the plunderings of the Sioux." (Hassrick 1964, p 74)

In reading this account one wonders if the warring characteristics had always been prevalent? What had it been like before the innovation of the horse? And what were the Sioux like before the "manifest destiny" pushed them westward ahead of the colonial and European settlers; out of the forest and forest fringe and into the forest fringe and then on to the grass lands? Of the seven tribal cultures considered in this report, the Sioux probably suffered the greatest deprivation as a result of the combined ecological disruption of their bio-economic environment and the direct confrontation with other tribes and with the gold-searching -- land hungry settlers. The conquest of the latter without question

played an important role in the inter-tribal conflicts. However Sandoz maintains that:

> "Except in a few tribal struggles for hunting grounds, Plains Indian fights were scarcely more dangerous than a hard-fought football game. The first class coup -- striking an enemy with the hand, the bow or the coup stick without harming him -- was the highest war achievement, more important that any scalp." (Sandoz 1961, p 45)

The universal and basic unit of the Sioux society seems to again be the extended family and the nomadic bands that seasonally congeal and disperse in order to best accomodate the seasonal niggardliness and bounties of the environment. Hassrick describes the band or tiyospe as:

> "... a group of individuals banded together under a common leader and often related through descent or marriage to the patriarch, was the ancient and important core of Sioux society. Through the able guidance of an experienced and dependable elder, small groups of people co-operated in hunting and in war; in carrying out the daily chores of homemaking, rearing children, celebrating, and worshiping; in caring for the aged, and in burying the dead. To accomplish all of these successfully, the tiyospe was of necessity an intensely cohesive organization. In general, the tiyospe was composed of members of one or more families, and because interrelation of family members was subject to a patterned system, the tiyospe itself was imbued with a sense of order." (Hassrick 1964, p 97)

In addition to the extended family relationships, Lowie contends that Siouans coming from the eastern forest lands brought an eastern clan pattern into their new habitat. (Lowie 1954, p 102). Mrs. Mary Eastman, the wife of an army officer, writing in the 1840's makes the following observation regarding the Sioux clans:

> "There are many clans among the Sioux, and these are distinguished from each other by the different kinds of medicine they use. Each clan takes a root for its medicine, known only to those initiated into the mysteries of the clan." (Eastman 1949, p xix)

Landes in describing the Mystic Lake Sioux, which is one of the four easterly forest groups identified as the Dakota speaking Santee, credited the kinship bonds as giving the individual an identification with the local village groups.

> "Economically a village was self-sufficient, especially when large. Its members hunted under the leadership of a shaman sanctioned by visions and successful experience. Sometimes one village invited other villages through their hunt leader, to join the winter deer chase or the summer

buffalo pursuit. In the summer, different bands and tribes met anyway, and the friendly ones, such as subgroups of a tribe, remained rather close together and sometimes aided one another." (Landes 1968, p 33)

Landes then points out that the kinship bond was strong at least until 40 years ago, [illegible] she states:

> "All categories of relatives, excluding cousins and affines, in 1935 were obligated to be kind, generous, and loyal; and 'senior' kin were entitled to certain privileges for their years and wisdom, reciprocating with consistent forbearance and propriety. 'Younger' kin were to defer to 'elder', whether age difference was terminological or chronological. Grandparents, parents, aunts and uncles, elder siblings, and cousins all felt responsible for a child..." (Landes 1968, p 110)

White, citing Mekeel's studies, also confirms Landes' findings as it pertains to rather recent Sioux interaction, for:

> "The extended family met often for subsistence farming activities -- rounding up cattle, slaughtering and drying meat, cutting firewood -- and for ceremonial dances at the neighborhood meeting house... In this period all knew well the traditional kin relationships and the duties that went with them so that family life was relatively stable. The ties of the extended family held the neighborhood together; excessive drinking and disorder were not serious problems." (White 1970, p 180)

Schusky points out that rather contemporary Christian non-Indian communities are rather different that Christian Indian communities and that one factor which accounts for this is the strong kinship relationship. (Schusky 1970, pp 113-114)

What besides their proclivity for war and the kinship relationships of the extended family are the ideals of the Sioux? The following excerpts taken from Hassrick's writings on the Life and Customs of a Warrior Society are used to illustrate some of their idealism:

> "The determinants of a 'good family' involved many specific factors, ranging from such pragmatic considerations as wealth in horses and success in hunting to such philosophical aspirations as the four great virtues: bravery and fortitude, generosity and wisdom. Further qualifications for family prestige demanded membership in several fraternal societies and the sponsorship of multiple religious ceremonies. Important, too, was possession of supernatural power, achieved through dreams and visions." (p 14)
>
> "Although rooted in idealism, the concept of status led to a pragmatic self-aggrandizement. The politically ambitious young man, seeking to achieve the position of a leader, made a conspicuous effort to help the poor, and the old, and also to bring food to the meeting lodge, where the council of elders was sure to observe his generosity." (pp 14-15)
>
> "Young men were invited to join policing societies at an early age ... To be invited into the Akicita societies, a boy must usually have been

> on at least one war party, even if in no greater capacity than that of water boy. He would be considered an even more desirable candidate if he were the member of an outstanding family and had killed an enemy or 'gone on the hill' to seek a vision...But a man who had committed murder or adultery, or who amassed wealth by not giving feasts, was not eligible for membership. Neither would a poor hunter or an inept warrior be asked to join." (p 17)

Ineffectual or dominating leadership was not tolerated and if present often prompted the creation of a new band. This:

> "... may well account for the Sioux's ideal pattern of talking over matters with members who had erred rather than ordering punishment for them, and of obtaining unanimous decision in council matters rather than mere majority action." (p 31)
>
> "To express modesty and reserve was the essence of fortitude." (p 36)
>
> "A man must take pity on orphans, the crippled and the old...Here was socialism with a vengeance. It meant, ideally and in reality, no member was to go without... The distribution of wealth for the benefit of all fostered relatively equal economic standards for all members of the tribe." (p 37)

On the subject of chiefs, Hyde points out that: "...before the whites came the Sioux had no tribal chiefs; their chiefs were the heads of totemic kinship groups and, unless they were supported by strong groups of kinsmen, they had little authority in the tribe." (Hyde 1937, p 308)

Concerning the Sioux religion, Sandoz points out that:

> "... the Indians didn't take Satan and hell-fire very seriously...The idea of fear was too alien to their philosophy, to their ideal of personal discipline and their whole idea of the good life..." (Sandoz 1961, p 115)

Hassrick's concept of the Sioux religion would agree in part with Sandoz's observations, but in other areas tend to disagree. For example:

> "Sioux religion demanded self-denial to a surprisingly high degree. The examples of self-indulgence and their consequent penalties which the gods themselves experienced were vivid reminders of the danger of uncontrolled gratification...Not only did the religion provide lessons and penalties for those who would disregard the precept of self-control, but it seemed to add further dangers in the form of evil forces which tested man's fortitude or brought him suffering." (Hassrick 1964, p 225)

The religious mystics were found among the Sioux, but perhaps the most notable was the Indian 19th century messiah, a Nevada Paiute by the name of Wovoka, from whom the Sioux obtained the Ghost Dance (Hyde 1956, p 241) This dance and the accompanying spiritual visitations of departed kinsmen electrified the Sioux

with a promise of a new tomorrow, without the dominance of the white man. But sadly, Wovoka, the Paiute messiah, ultimately led to Wounded Knee where the curtain dropped for a Siouan intermission. And is the curtain now rising again?

V. THE MAKAH

The Makah were historically a fishing people and perhaps enjoyed the greatest economic prosperity of any of the groups to be included in this report. In may ways whaling became their technical accomplishment and after making such a catch they would be blessed with a rather significant amount of surplus. Thus the skilled whaler was held in great esteem. Also there are those who have the theory that social stratification is difficult to establish unless there is a surplus. Perhaps the Henry George theory of Progress and Poverty would tend to support the surplus social stratification theory. Social stratification existed among the Makah, for each of the villages had its chiefs, its commoners and its slaves. (Colson 1953, p 4)

The Makah had no clan system but the extended family arrangement was very strong and there existed three secret societies which gave them additional social cohesiveness. Unlike the Hopi, the Makah were an aggressive war-like people who made frequent raids upon other neighboring tribes. Colson points out that:

> "Most of their substance came from the sea, where they fished for salmon, halibut, and other fish, and hunted for whale and seal. The excess over what they needed for consumption within the village was traded to other tribes in return for many of the raw materials and some of the finished articles used in the daily and ceremonial life of the village." (Colson 1953, p 5)

As already mentioned, whale hunting was an important facet of the Makah culture for:

> "They had elaborate techniques and ritual played a central role in their culture. The whale hunter, since he obtained large stocks of whale oil and meat, was able to gather the other material possessions available to members of the group and to take his place in the system of potlatching in which he showed his greatness by distributing great quantities of property to his guests. Since they were expected to return these gifts at some future date with some increase in value, he became a wealthier man, and his prestige was great. His success was regarded as proof that he had acquired a powerful guardian spirit, or several such, and he was therefore endowed with supernatural power as well as material possessions." (Colson 1953, p 5)

Potlatching seems to be an interesting mixture of selfish hoarding and then a generous dispersal of one's accumulation. One wonders what the origin of potlatching might have been? Was it a ceremony introduced by an ancient Makah "Deganawidah" who saw the need for eliminating social stratification; and through the span of history, had the potlatch ceremony become distorted? For example in our own Christian culture, the teachings of Christ place a great emphasis on the avoidance of wealth; or the admonition that if one has riches one should give them away to the poor and needy without making a show of such a gesture. Unfortunately in our own society, many orthodox Christians are convinced that their wealth is a manifestation of God's special blessings toward them, and rarely do they disperse all of their wealth on the poor and needy; and usually if they make a sizeable contribution, the bestowal is not made in secret, but usually done in such a way as to solicit additional prestige. So one wonders if the Makah potlatch may have experienced a similar evolution. Colson indicates a change in motivation for she points out that the early potlatch was an affair that the entire extended family participated in, whereas: "The potlatch became more of an occasion for individual glory than for the stressing of the importance of the lineage." (Colson 1953, p 81)

It is also interesting to note that anciently the Makah extended family lived in a long house also referred to as the smokehouse, as did the Mohawk and the other Iroquois nations: (Ernst 1952, p 10 and also Colson 1953, pp 175,184)

> "Makah villages were formerly composed of a number of large houses, each one occupied by a number of related small families. Each household (or sometimes two or more related households) acted as a unit, its members cooperating in economic undertakings...Ownership of fishing grounds, berry patches, and stretches of coastline was vested in the kinship group rather than in the individual or in the whole village. Theoretically control of this property was in the hands of the male head of the house, but all members of the group had access to its resources."
>
> "Despite the disappearance of the large household groups, the feeling that there are bodies of kin who should cooperate does exist, though the kinship groups are no longer clearly defined."
>
> "Control of individuals was left to the family group and especially to the authority of the head of the extended family. In all transactions

within the village community, the individual acted as a member of a family rather than as a citizen of the village. The village, indeed, was an alliance among a number of family groups each of which preserved its independence to a large extent. Older people who claim to remember seeing the extended family said, 'It was just like a law to those old Indians. It was all in the family, and they took care of everyone'...Rank within the family was thus theoretically largely a matter of ascribed status determined by birth order." (Colson 1953, pp 191,192,193)

Even though the potlatch Makah are in many ways different than the other Native American groups, they still have a common strand of values, namely their social, economic and political life is largely centered around the extended family with property being communally owned by the extended family and with strong kinship obligations. Even the traditional potlatch was an extended family undertaking.

VI. THE ESKIMO

"It would seem that Eskimo origins could be established rather easily since the people have a relatively uniform culture and occupy a broad but largely contiguous area. To make the matter even more straightforward, no peoples quite like the Eskimo exist anywhere else in the world, and there are comparatively few areas from which they could conceivably have arisen." (Oswalt 1967, p 16)

Eskimo tribes are numerous with some twenty-one Eskimo tribes in Alaska, not to mention the rest of the North American Tundra. But the tribes are small and cannot be classified according to political entities for according to Oswalt:

"... political structure might scarcely exist even at the village level... A tribe is designated as the people in certain villages, hamlets, or camps who are considered by outsiders, and by themselves, as being set off from other such units and having a sense of in-group identity." (Oswalt 1967, pp 2-3)

"The core of traditional Eskimo social life centered on the individual's nuclear and extended family, a relationship continually reinforced by patterns of mutual aid and reciprocal obligation. Beyond this extended circle of kin, there existed other more voluntary associations, such as trading and joking partnerships, hunting groups, and the karigi, or men's ceremonial dance and club houses." (Chance 1966, p 52)

In order to exchange goods between regions, trading partner arrangements were established where individuals of different tribes established an inter-tribal exchange of goods, where there were both men and women trading partners. These trading partnerships are also friendly and generous associations, and the

partners are more generous with each other than they would be in exchanging goods with members of their own band.

> "Reciprocal trade relationships were lifelong unless one of the partners negated the arrangement; the basis for termination usually was the feeling that one had been cheated. In times when caribou were scarce or absent and starvation threatened, a hunter and his family might be forced to move to the coast. Here they would live temporarily with his trading partner." (Oswalt 1967, p 179)

In some aspects the trading partnership arrangement is somewhat similar, in its socio-economic functions, with the clan of other tribal groups. Nelson also points out that when a trading arrangement is initiated, a man or a woman offers the proposed partner some object to which the initial recipient must then respond with a gift of equal or greater value.

> "...The first man then brings something else, and so they alternate until, sometimes, two men will exchange nearly everything they originally possessed; the man who received the first present being bound to continue until the originator wishes to stop." (Nelson 1971, p 309)

Numerous accounts are made of the way the Eskimos share their hunt, which are enumerated as follows:

> "Whenever fish are plentiful, community-wide sharing was considered unnecessary, since any family could secure all the fish it wanted. In times of scarcity, gifts of fish were made to the needy. As with caribou meat, feasts of fish were organized at the midwinter camps."(Balikei 1970, p 115)
>
> "There is another general rule among the Netsilik according to which all able-bodied men should contribute to hunting, and the returns of the hunt should be shared according to established custom. Any activity in exception to this rule was bound to provide criticism, various forms of conflict, and frequently social ostracism." (Balikei 1970, p 176)
>
> "The man in Eskimo society, when engaged in his most important economic activity, the hunt, is identified with the group as a whole, since the product of the chase is communally owned." (Giffen 1930, p 81)
>
> "One essential reason for describing the Eskimo society as communistic is that the spoils of the chase do not exclusively belong to the hunter who secured them. Division is not equal, however, but proceeds according to very definite rules...the really large animals such as the right whale are true common property, everyone having a right to take what he needs, this last regulation is applied to all food during a famine." (Birket-Smith 1959, p 146)
>
> "It was Eskimo tradition to share what one had with others near -- good hunting for one meant good eating for all..." (Washburn 1940, p 23)
>
> "When a seal is brought to the huts everybody is entitled to a share of the meat and blubber, which is distributed by the hunter himself or carried to the individual huts by his wife. This custom is practiced when food is scarce." (Boaz 1964, p 174)

"The most successful means for securing migrating animals was through the cooperative efforts of a number of hunters and their families. A location was found where caribou were likely to concentrate, and here the hunters erected two converging lines of cairns made of rock or sod... When caribou were taken cooperatively, the kill was divided equally among the hunters, although an individual who already had cached a great quantity of meat might give some of his share to a less successful man..." (Oswalt 1967, p 119. He also cites Gubser 1965 and Ingstad 1954)

"Hospitality is regarded as a duty among the Eskimo, so far as concerns their own friends in the surrounding villages, and to strangers in certain cases, as well as to all guests visiting the villages during festivals." (Nelson 1971, p 295)

Nelson then tells of visiting Sledge Island during the winter when all their dogs had died due to hunger and that the people were in very serious straits and yet the people urged them to stay two nights and they brought enough food together to feed Nelson's dogs and the people in his party.

Among the Eskimo does the right of property or the rights of the people prevail?

"Whenever a successful trader (an Eskimo trading partner) among them accumulates property and food, and is known to work solely for his own welfare, and is careless of his fellow villagers, he becomes an object of envy and hatred which ends in one of two ways -- the villagers may compel him to make a feast and distribute his goods, or they may kill him and divide his property among themselves. When the first choice is given him he must give away all he possesses at the enforced festival and must then abandon the idea of accumulating more, under fear of being killed. If he is killed his property is distributed among the people, entirely regardless of the claims of his family, which is left destitute and dependent on the charity of others." (Nelson 1971, p 305)

Under our value system this is rather harsh treatment for one who has been enterprising and has sought to improve his level of living. With Eskimo ethical-economic values what then happens to a rich man's freedom? But then the Hopis might answer by asking what happened to his self-discipline and his concern for the group and the community? And the Mohawks and their other Iroquois colleagues might answer by asking about the demand for great self-restraint, needed for the preservation of great freedom. Is this not the risk men of wealth must always take if the democratic majority should decide that the values and the rules should call for a participatory economic democracy? And are rich men destroying our freedom? And what must we do to preserve our freedom?

"If finally we look at the Eskimo society as a whole, we cannot but be struck by its primitive stamp. We see how it has grown almost unconsciously, like one of the poor plants of the Arctic soil. Here is no social tension to threaten its destruction, no cleavage between the individual and the whole, no cry for justice against a privileged brutality. Its ethic is one and universal, and its guiding lines are therefore followed with a certainty of which we do not know the equal in our own civilization." (Birket-Smith 1971, p 174)

VII. SAMOA

American Samoa is also known as Eastern Samoa consisting of the island of Tutuila where the city of Pago Pago is located, a small adjoining island, Aunu'u and 75 miles eastward a group of small islands known as the Manua Islands. About 70 miles northeast of Tutuila Island are two somewhat larger islands, with some smaller islands known as Western Samoa. Eastern Samoa has been under U.S. political jurisdiction since the turn of the century while at that time Western Samoa came under the jurisdiction of Germany. At the beginning of World War I, the jurisdiction of Western Samoa was controlled by New Zealand. So the impact of American culture has had its imprint for nearly a century and the Samoan people can claim to be Native Americans in much the same way the Hawaiians and Eskimos now make such a claim through the statehood of their respective habitats.

"The unit of Samoan social life is the family. Such a family is not merely a biological group as Europeans understand the term, consisting of parents and children, but a wider family group of blood and marriage, or even adopted connections who all acknowledge one person as the matai or head of that particular family. Such a matai is a titled person, either a chief or an orator (or both) whose particular duty is the leadership and care of the family under his control, and who is entitled to the services and co-operation of all members of his family in return for his leadership. All members of such family group need not necessarily live under the same roof or even in the same village, but will when occasion requires it assemble, generally at the residence of the matai, to discuss family affairs or any happenings affecting the interests of the family..." (Grattan 1948, p. 10)

The Samoan life style was, and for many Westerners, is still hard to grasp and appreciate. For example, the British Consulate who had spent four years in Samoa wrote in 1887 as follows:

"The community of property, especially of food was most noticeable. Everything appeared to belong to everybody -- that is, if it were asked

for. If two natives meet in the street, one with food and the other without, they are sure to divide, let the quantity be ever so small -- that is, if the one beg a portion from the other...

This communistic custom is the greatest draw-back to advancement in civilized industry in the country. It is a drag upon every attempt to raise the social condition of the natives. No sooner does one man successfully strike out an independent line of industry on his own, then down comes a swarm of his relations upon him, insisting, by all family ties and country customs, upon a division of the fruits of his labour. He is reduced at once to the common level from whence he was laboriously raising himself." (Churchward 1887, pp 115-116)

As we look at the collective corporate structure today that dominates all economic activity we might consider the Samoan as being ahead of his time for they are all obviously participants in democratic family corporations, which not only consider the economic aspects of their democratic "stockholders", but they are concerned with their general physical, social and spiritual well-being as well. Their organization is not so massive that they cannot be meaningful participants for Gilson points out that the Samoan extended family group consists of a few to upwards of 200 people. (Gilson 1970, p 21). Margaret Mead indicates that a household can consist of "parents and children only, to households of fifteen and twenty people who are all related to the matai or to his wife by blood, marriage or adoption, but who often have no close relationship to each other. The adopted members of a household are usually but not necessarily distant relatives..." She then points out that "...a Samoan village is made up of some thirty to forty households, each of which is presided over by a headman called a matai..." (Mead 1928, p 39)

One may ask how the matai is selected and might be concerned that he wields too much power over his extended family. Gray describes the procedures and structure as follows:

"A matai acquires his position by an election in which all of the adult members of the aiga (family) have a voice. An old matai may name his choice for the succession on his deathbed, and his wish commands consideration, but it is not binding upon the family. In order of precedence, a matai's younger brother is senior to his son, and a blood relative is senior to a relative by adoption, but no one has an incontestable claim upon the succession, and the family is free to choose any member of the group including a relative by adoption. Sex is no bar to election to matai status, and a

capable woman may be installed. As a rule, there is no serious dispute among the members of the family in such matters, but if such develops, months or even years may elapse before a vacancy is filled, for every election must be unanimous...

"...He allots the work among his subordinates and collects the fruit of their labors, for example the catch of fish or the banana crop, which he apportions among the members of his family. He requires respect for his position, and in turn accords respect to his juniors. He maintains order and discipline and adjudicates all inter-family disputes. He is trustee of the family's property, but he is not the owner, for although land cannot be sold without his consent he cannot dispose of family land without the consent of the family. Finally, he represents his aiga in public affairs. Since his position is elective and not hereditary, he may be deposed if his administration displeases his adherents. He may, and often does, resign to permit his relatives to select a more vigorous successor, when he feels that he is too old or enfeebled to perform his duties. If deposed, he loses his precedence in his community, but if he resigns, he continues to receive the honors due to his position." (Gray 1960, p 21)

Gilson points out that each family and each village strives to be self-sufficient in most of the needs of the community. But goods are produced for ceremonial exchange and for religious occasions so in all of these requirements the village councils of a number of villages meet and determine quotas of goods and crops that are to be produced. (Gilson 1970, pp 18-19) With recent concerns regarding limited versus unlimited growth perhaps our economists should be looking at the "primitive" socio-economic system of Samoa.

SUMMARY

The findings of this library research study would indicate that the hypothesis which states that "the economic values of traditional tribal cultures are essentially the same" has some rather concrete validity. Admittedly the sampling of seven Native American tribes is a rather small sample, but the nature of the study in terms of cultural and environmental diversity should provide added credence for the validity of the hypothesis. For example the following traditional and often contemporary similarities were associated with each group studied:

1. The social, economic and political structure of each culture was based on the extended family and/or clan.

2. In each case the land was communally owned by the group: the extended family, the clan or the village.

3. A relative economic equality existed with all of the tribes, with the exception of the Makah who had slaves. But the traditional extended family potlatch provided an equalizing effect for the non-slave population.

4. With each of the seven cultures there was a universal obligation to share one's material goods with the less fortunate within the ethnocentric "in" group.

5. Leadership roles were not absolute or domineering, for provisions existed whereby the subjugated could extradite themselves.

6. In each situation some form of consensus democracy prevailed.

7. The virtue of sharing and generosity was rather universal for all seven tribes included in the study.

8. The ideals tended to be a bit higher and better defined when their legends contained some rather recent spiritual leader or prophet.

9. Basically all of the cultures apparently existed in their traditional stage without money or any dominant medium of exchange.

10. Both the Mohawk and the Hopi made a strong point concerning freedom--that it couldn't persist unless there was self-discipline and self restraint on the part of the people. The Sioux also stressed the need for self denial.

For a number of centuries and costing hundreds of millions of dollars and man hours, the Christians have been trying to Christianize the tribal heathens with what results? Usually it has resulted in a moral breakdown on the part of the "heathens" and seemingly an increase in ethnocentric dogmatism and hypocrisy on the part of the babylonic capitalistic Christians. Perhaps it is time for the tables to turn and for "heathenistic" tribalism to tribalize the "babylonic" Christians. Can we afford another try at fervent and persuasive cultural assimilation?

On April Fool's Day of 1974, Mr. Paul Harvey, the news commentator made a most "dramatic" statement, to wit: "By raising our level of longing, we raise

our level of living. This is the function of advertising. This is the story of free enterprise." In the words of Deganawidah and following the teachings of the Hopi and Siouan wise men, what happens to our great freedom if we don't discipline our longings and exercise self restraint over our level of living? How precarious are our freedoms and are they ebbing away? And what about our cultural and physical environment?

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THE MORMON INDIAN FARMS: AN ATTEMPT AT CULTURAL INTEGRATION

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ABSTRACT. Mormon settlers of the Great Basin region were instructed by Brigham Young to live in harmony with the Indian occupants of the area. Using this concept the Mormons developed ten Indian farm communities adjacent to Mormon settlements which affected an estimated 27,000 Indians. Mormons provided tools, assistance, and education in an attempt to integrate the Indians into the culture and economy of the Mormons. Conflict between non-Mormon Indian agents and the Mormons developed when Indian agents reported that the Mormons were teaching the Indians that the Indian was the rightful owner of the land and had a right to share its occupation. The U.S. Government began segregating the Indians on reservations in eastern Utah in 1862. Indians remained on five Indian farms and with Mormon assistance homesteaded their land in the 1870's. Three of the farm communities remain today, and at the other two the Indians have been assimilated into the adjacent Mormon community.

Introduction

In the process of occupying the Great Basin of the Western United States, Mormon leaders attempted a unique system of dealing with the resident Indian population. In the 1850's and 60's the Mormon leaders instigated a program which fostered peaceful co-occupation of the land. This program was in stark contrast to the general method of dealing with Native Americans in the Anglo occupation of the United States.

The history of the Anglo/Indian relations in what is now the U.S. include examples of genocide, enslavement, and exploitation of the Indian, but the predominant strategy from the beginning was one of segregation of native population.[1] In 1851 the first areas formally known as "Indian Reservations" were given legal status in California through the Barbour Treaties. The basic goal of segregation of Indians on these reservations was to "...provide, in the most efficient manner, first for their concentration; secondly for their domestication; and thirdly, for their incorporation into the great body of our citizen population.[2]

The Judeo-Christian cultural heritage of the Anglos with its tradition of dominating and controlling the environment for the benefit of the individual was in opposition to the traditional Indian view of living in harmony with the environment for the benefit of the group. From the viewpoint of the white man, his culture and resultant use of the land was far superior to that of the Indian occupants, thus the policy of concentration and "domestication" was justifiable.

The official Mormon view of the Indian differed from the prevailing attitude found among the Anglo settlers in the 1800's. The Mormon leadership from the beginning maintained that the Indians deserved the same freedom and rights guaranteed to all other residents of the United States. As the Mormons were being driven out of their homes in Illinois and Iowa in 1846, the leaders counseled the members to remember the rights of the Native Americans on whose land they were encamped. In the Mormons' winter camp near present-day Council Bluffs, Omaha, Brigham Young cautioned the migrants "...not to disturb any Indian grave, because the Indians frequently deposit their dead in the branches of trees, wrapped in Buffalo robes and blankets, leaving with them their arrows, pipes, and other trinkets, which they considered sacred, and they should not remove them, and the children of the migrant camp should be taught to let them alone."[3] This concern for the rights of the native population was evident in the subsequent settlement of the Great Basin by the Mormons.

A. The initial Mormon occupation of the Great Basin, 1847-1851.

/1. Brigham Young encouraged the Mormon pioneers who settled in the Salt Lake Valley in 1847 to select a location which would not infringe on any of the Indian tribes.

> "President Young gave his views concerning a stopping place in the Basin, by saying that he felt inclined for the present not to crowd upon the Utes until we have a chance to get acquainted with them, and that it would be better to bear toward the region of the Salt Lake, rather that the Utah /lake/ and find some good place for our seeds and deposit them as speedily as possible, regardless of future location."[4]

2. Expansion outward from Salt Lake City was undertaken only after consideration of potential conflict with Indian tribes.

   a. Brigham Young told settlers to "Feed and clothe them /Indians/ a little and you save lives. Fight them and you pave the way for destruction of the innocents."[5]

   b. Settlers were encouraged to assist Indians through the winter when wild game was limited.

3. Cultural interaction in the initial period consisted of assisting Indians in planting corn and beans, fishing and hunting, and in encouraging tribes to cease selling prisoners from other tribes as slaves to Spanish.

B. Attempts to settle Indians on farms: 1852

1. Young, as governer and ex officio superintendent of Indian affairs for the territory of Utah appointed superintendents to the Indians of various areas to help them farm.

2. Superintendents simply planted specific fields for Indian use near the fields of Mormon settlers.

   a. The Indian population continued their nomadic lifestyle with the Anglos caring for the farms and harvesting the crops.

3. Cultural conflict began to emerge between the Mormon settlers and the Indians because Indians pastured their horses in grain fields, killed settlers' livestock, and took small items of personal property.

   a. Brigham Young counseled the settlers not to indiscriminately punish the Indians since the Mormons were occupying their land.

> "We are now their /Indians/ neighbors. We are on their lands which belong to them as much as any soil ever belonged to any man on the earth. We are drinking their water, using their fuel and timber, and raising our food from their ground."[6]

   b. Young and other Church leaders constantly reminded the Mormon

settlers that the cultural background of the Indians should be considered when problems developed.

> "Why should men have a disposition to kill a destitute naked Indian who may steal a shirt or horse and think it no harm, when they never think of meting out a like retribution to a white man who steals although he has been taught better from infancy?"[7]

4. Mormon Church leaders suggested a two-point program for minimizing conflict between the two cultures.

   a. The first phase of the program was to minimize the potential for conflict by limiting the extent of interaction between the two groups. The settlers were to "...attend your own affairs and let the Indians take care of theirs. Let your women and children stay in the fort and the Indians stay out; but while you mix with them promiscuously you must continue to receive such treatment from them as they please to give."

   b. The second phase of the Mormon program involved integrating the Indians into the Mormon culture through teaching them to farm and encouraging them to adopt the Mormon culture and its values.

C. The Mormon Indian farms represented the institutional implementation of the policy of cultural integration.

1. Indian farms were founded where there were Indian groups in the vicinity of Mormon settlements (Map).

2. From 1854 to 1856 many Indian farms were established in southern and central Utah.

   a. 1854 - Santa Clara (near present St. George, Utah)

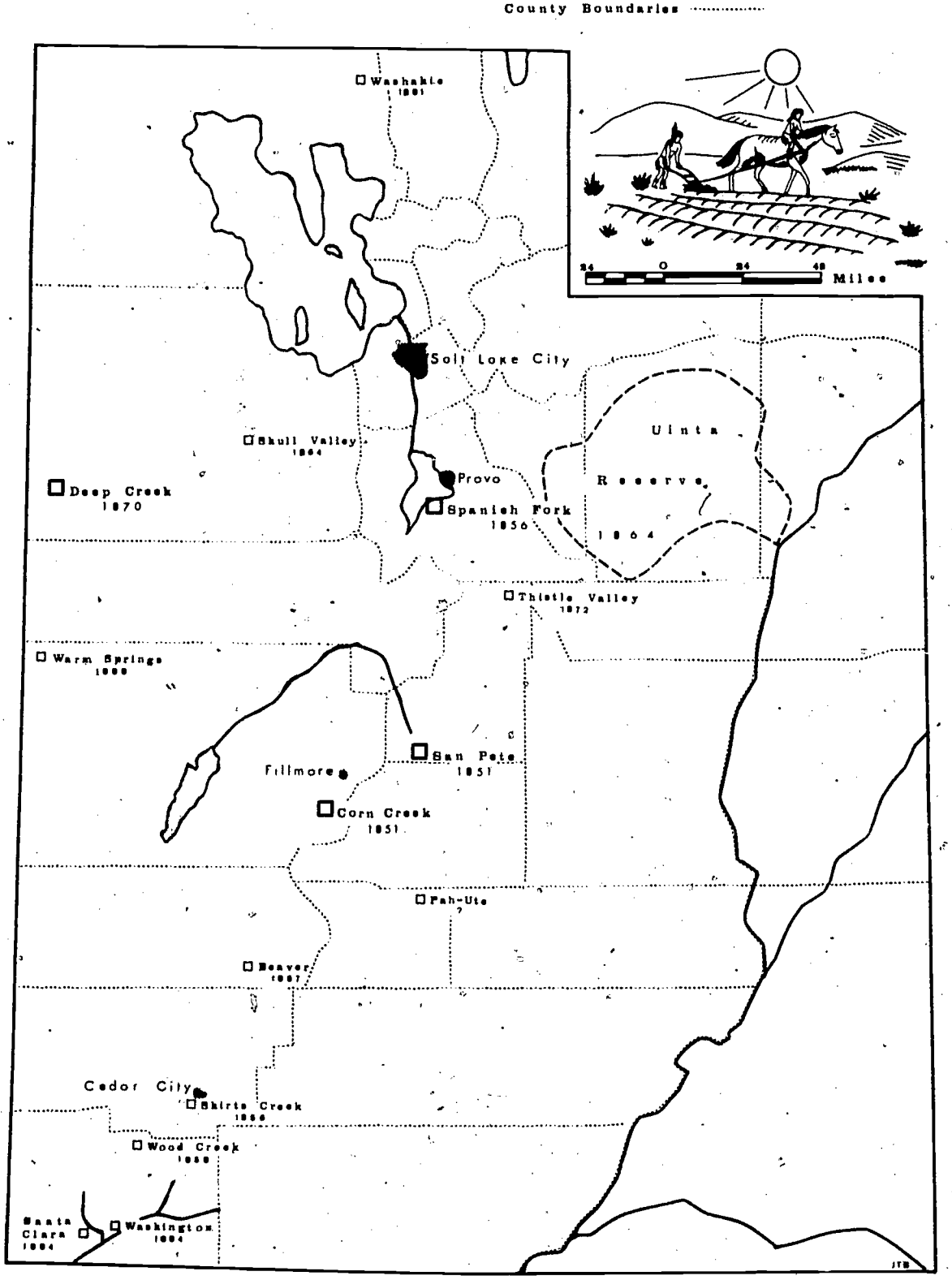
   b. 1854 - Washington (near present day St. George, Utah)

   c. 1856 - Shirts Creek (near present day Cedar City, Utah)

   d. 1856 - Wood Creek (near present day Harmony, Utah)

   e. 1856 - Spanish Fork (near present day Spanish Fork, Utah)

INDIAN FARMS & RESERVES
OF NINETEENTH CENTURY UTAH



f. 1856 - Corn Creek (near present day Fillmore, Utah)

g. 1856 - Sanpete (near present day Gunnison, Utah)

h. 1857 - Beaver (near present day Beaver, Utah)

i. 1858 - Warm Springs (near Nevada border)

3. Two Indian farms were located in Utah in areas where there were no Mormon settlements at a later date.

a. 1864 - Skull Valley (western Utah desert)

b. 1870 - Deep Creek (western Utah desert)

4. Two farms were established for Indians who did not want to remove to the Uintah reservation established by the U.S. government in eastern Utah in 1864.

a. 1872 - Thistle Valley (near present day Mt. Pleasant, Utah)

b. 1877 - Washakie (near present day Plymouth, Utah)

5. Methods for selecting specific lands for an Indian farm varied, but the manner in which the Spanish Fork Indian farm was selected is indicative of the process.

a. In June of 1855 Chief Tintic and his band of 40 lodges set up camp in the Provo settlement's 400 acre wheat field.

b. Settlers and Indians negotiated a settlement and the Indians moved their camp to pasture lands nearby.

c. Indian complaints that they could not catch sufficient fish from the Provo river because of competition from settlers resulted in settlers catching sufficient fish to load all of the Indian's horses.

d. Chief Tintic concerned that all of the band's pastures were being plowed up by settlers.

e. Brigham Young instructed the Mormons in the communities near Utah Lake where Indians came to fish, to let the Indians choose lands

for a pasture of the size, and in the location, they desired.

f. The Indians selected a farm of 12,500 acres, much of it grazing land, but essentially the same as that occupied by the Mormon settlers.

6. Once lands were selected for an Indian farm, improvements were made by the Indians with Mormon assistance.

a. Improvements included plowing, building dams and irrigation ditches, fencing crop land, and building homes.

b. At Santa Clara Indian Farm the winter of 1854 was spent building a dam 100 feet wide and 14 feet high which provided irrigation water for 100 acres.

c. At Spanish Fork 900 acres were fenced with an adobe wall six feet high, and adobe homes constructed.

7. The number of acres cultivated and the number of Indians involved fluctuated, but Tables I and II indicated the production and population figures gleaned from the limited statistical information recorded in diaries, reports, and Mormon Church records.

Table I: Maximum Annual Indian Population Engaged in Farming at Indian Farms: 1854-1859.

Corn Creek:	250	Santa Clara	400
Spanish Fork:	800	Shirts Creek:	100
San Pete:	300	Beaver:	100
Deep Creek:	300	Thistle:	500
Skull Valley:	100	Washakie:*	300

*Washakie estimates are for mid-1880's.

Table II: Available Production Statistics for Indian Farm Production

Indian Farms	Year	Wheat		Corn & Potatoes	
		Acres	Bushels	Acres	Bushels
Spanish Fork	1860		4000	--	1000
Corn Creek	1859	185		35	220
San Pete	1859	170		30	200
Skull Valley	1859	25		--	--
Deep Creek	1855	25		--	--
Santa Clara	1857	72		--	--
Beaver	1857	35		--	--
Washakie	1881	500		--	--

D. The relative success of the Mormon Indian Farms

1. For the Indian farms created prior to 1860, the peak year of activity was 1859.

   a. By 1861 three of the right farms established in this period were abandoned.

2. The Mormon concept of the Indian farms was changed by the appointment of federal Indian agents from the east who were non-Mormon.

   a. Non-Mormon Indian agents often were anti-Mormon.

   b. Indian agents reported to Washington that there was "...a distinction in the minds of the Indians of this territory between the Mormons and the people of the U.S."[8]

   c. Indian agents unable to understand why the Mormons wanted to assist the Indians. In the words of one agent's report, "I suspect their /Mormons/ first object will be to teach these wretched savages that they are the rightful owners of the American soil and that it has been wrongfully taken from them."[9]

   d. Indian agents banned all Mormon contacts with Indians on Indian farms.

3. Conflict developed between the Mormon leaders and non-Mormon officials and migrants over the intentions of the Indians and how they should be treated.

a. Brigham Young summed up the official Mormon attitude as follows:

> If I am to have the direction of the Indian affairs of this territory, and am expected to maintain friendly relations with the Indians, there are a few things that I would most respectfully suggest to be done.
>
> First. That travelers omit their infamous practice of shooting them down when they happen to see one. Whenever the citizens of this territory travel the roads, they are in the habit of giving the Indians food, tobacco, and a few other presents; and the Indians expect some such trifling favor; and they are emboldened by this practice to come up to the road with a view of receiving such presents. When, therefore, travelers from the states make their appearance they throw themselves in sight with the same view, and when they are shot at, and some of their numbers killed, as has frequently been the case, we cannot but expect them to wreck their vengeance upon the train.
>
> Second. That the government should make more liberal appropriations to be expended in presents. I have proven that it is far cheaper to feed and clothe the Indians than to fight them.
>
> Third. The troops must be kept away, for it is a prevalent fact that wherever there are the most of these, we may expect to find the greatest amount of hostile Indians, and the least security to persons and property.[10]

b. Non-Mormons reported that Indians were threatening the population, "robbing the Overland Mail Company of their horses and provisions, and destroying their stations, and declare the paper /immigrant/ wagons shall be stopped within two months. An imperative necessity demands immediate military protection for the mail company and settlers."[11]

c. Brigham Young reported to Washington "that they /Indians/ have . . . been greatly mis-represented. . . ," and accused white traders of robbing stock of mail companies noting if white traders "were all gibbeted there would be less if any at all, loss of mail stock."[12]

4. The result of Mormon and non-Mormon conflicts was the recommendation to Washington by the Utah Indian agent in 1862 recommending that the

Indians be placed on a reservation where they would be away from Mormon influence and could be properly segregated from all whites.

a. The Uintah Indian reservation was created in eastern Utah in 1864 in an area uninhabited by Anglo settlers and away from the mail and immigrant routes.

b. An act extinguishing Indian title to the Indian farms was passed by Congress in 1864,[13] and by 1872 most Indians in central and northern Utah had be removed to the Uintah Reservation.

5. Conflict between Mormons and non-Mormons over treatment of the Indians and the Mormon Indian farms continued in the 1870's and 1880's.

a. Thistle Valley Indian Farm was established by the Mormon church for use by a group of Indians who left the Uintah reservation and claimed the area as their ancestral home in 1872. The Mormon settlers were asked to donate their lands in the area to the returning Indians, but the Indian agent at the Uintah reservation claimed the Indians were being enticed away from the reservation by the Mormons.

b. Following passage of an act of Congress in 1875 allowing Indians to homestead land if they gave up tribal relations the Mormons encouraged Indians to homestead on the lands occupied by the Indian Farms remaining at Santa Clara, Deep Creek, Corn Creek, Thistle Valley, Skull Valley and Washakie.[14]

c. Non-Mormons claimed that the Mormons were encouraging Indians to homestead lands so the Mormons could control the Indians, alienate them against the non-Mormons, and develop a military force of Indians to oppose the U.S. Government.[15]

d. Continued conflict between Mormons and non-Mormons led to creation of reservations at Santa Clara and Deep Creek in the early 1900's.

Conclusion

A critical assessment of the Mormon Indian Farm program must conclude that the goal of the church leaders of peacefully integrating Mormons and Indians in the great Basis was not met. Mormon conflicts with the broader Anglo culture of the United States and associated hostility toward the Mormons by non-Mormons culminated in establishment of reservations to segregate the Indian population from the Mormon settlers. Five hundred Indians were all that continued on the Indian Farms into the twentieth century, but for these few the goal of integration was met. The majority have left the farms and moved to the adjacent Mormon communities where they represent the same spectrum of socio-economic levels found in the Anglo populace. The Indians of the farms have been assimilated into the culture and work at the same jobs, attend the same schools, churches, and social and cultural activities as the white populace. This is in marked contrast to the reservation Indians of the area who are largely alienated from the anglo culture, yet have abandoned major elements of their own culture through the government programs nominally designed to assist them.

FOOTNOTES

[1]Ray A. Billington, Westward Expansion, 2nd ed., Macmillan Company, New York, 1960, p. 46. In 1653 the English colonists began assigning Indian populations to specific territories.

[2]U.S. Department of the Interior, Office of Indian Affairs, Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs , Washington D.C., Gideon and Company, 1851, p. 12-13.

[3]"Journal History of the Church, August 7, 1846," manuscript, L.D.S. Church Historian's Office, Salt Lake City.

[4]Ibid., July 21, 1847.

[5]Journal of Discourses, Vol. 10, p. 107, Liverpool, England, 1862, reported by G.D. Watts.

[6]Journal of Discourses, Vol. 1, p. 171, Liverpool, England, 1852, reported by G.D. Watts.

[7]Ibid.

[8]Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, #129, July 10, 1855, p. 306.

[9]Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, # 128, p. 305.

[10]Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, #132, p. 311, 1857. Letter from Brigham Young to Commissioner.

[11]Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1862, p. 198-199.

[12]Letter, April 14, 1862, Brigham Young to John M. Bernhisel, Washington D.C., L.D.S. Church Historians Office, Salt Lake City.

[13]United States Statutes at Large, XIII, Section 77 (1864).

[14]United States Statutes at Large, XVIII, Section 420 (1875).

[15]Letter from Indian Commissioner John Q. Smith, Washington D.C., to John J. Critchlow, Uintah Agency Indian Agent, August 2, 1877 in "Letters Sent by the Office of Indian Affairs 1824-1881.

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SOME CONCEPTS OF SACRED SPACE AMONG NORTH AMERICAN INDIANS

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The American Indian, before the time of contact, lived in intimate relationship with the spaces of nature. It has generally been assumed that the Indians' sense of time as sequential was rudimentary, and the sense of space was by contrast intricate and elaborate. In general, this may be true, but it is an oversimplification. When the great variety and diversity of tribes is recognized, it becomes evident that concepts of space as well as of time must also have been diverse. In fact, Indian people revealed in their creative acts and artifacts orientations to space and time as divergent as those of India, China, and Europe. The Indian's metaphysics of space and time were not self-consciously held, of course, but as Benjamin Lee Whorf points out,[1] these concepts can be read from their language, religion, economic practices, social organizations, and mythology. Such a general discussion is beyond the scope of this paper. Instead, it is a limited analysis of the *sacredness* of space and time. This approach may provide some organizing principles which can be used to reveal the coherence of each group's experience and world-view.

Sacred *space* orients traditional people in the world because it is powerful, ultimately real, and replete with being. Knowing where one is within sacred space enables anyone to act effectively. Sacred *time* is the period of creativity and transformation. According to Eliade, sacred space is revealed in the symbolism of the center, and sacred time is revealed in the symbolism of the cosmogony.[2] Therefore, the most direct access to concepts of space and time is developed through an analysis of (1) symbols of the center and (2) myths of origin.

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1. *All space is sacred. Individual acts alone express sacred time. There is no past and no future.*

The Naskapi, who live in the forests of Labrador, must hunt caribou by obtaining help from the powers of nature. Every place is mysterious, but no place is in particular,[3] and it always existed in about the same state as it now appears.[4] There is no creation story,[5] so there is no central sacred space, and no fixed point of orientation. Sacred space is pervasive, intricate, and fluid. On the other hand, time has been reduced to its simplest form: the mysterious mythical time, and the "present" time.[6] In this "present" time there are individuals who have the power that was universal in mythical time. There is no past and no future, and there is no death. There is only "a passing back and forth of an immortal individual through a veil."[7] In the practice of naming, for instance, the shaman recognizes an ancestor of the present family and calls out *that* name, which is the name of the infant. The principle of reincarnation assumes that the energy which is available in the universe is preserved and circulated.

In such a fluid situation, the hunter must find an orientation *for himself*. He must situate himself in his own "center," thereby achieving the power to act *by* himself. He does this by divination and by having a vision.[8] Verification of his vision is found in his "luck" in the hunt, his "luck" in gaming. Since "there are no gods, only Medicine,"[9] it is up to each individual to seek his own path, to obey his own inner voice, the voice of *mista'peo*, "Great Man."[10] The creative act is a biological transformation performed by the shaman, even though the real distinction between the shaman and ordinary hunters is not great.[11] The act itself is that of changing shape, from man to beast and back to man.[12] Such creativity can take place only when space and time are sacred. Since the power of transformation is

every place, but no place in particular, nature is left alone. When there must be tampering, such as killing of the caribou, the bones are given back in recompense, so that the transformations may persist, and the "boss spirit" of the caribou will permit future game to be hunted. Nature is inviolable. She *exists* in an ultimate sense--that is, she reveals the sacred by constantly changing shape. One must always be on guard, using all the arts of deception, feigning and dissimulating in order to make his way in the world. In such a monistic view of the world, there is no revelation of *another* reality. There is only the presentation of the reality of nature herself, known to one who is sufficiently sensitive. In addition, although there are dreams which reveal sacred power, they *may* reveal nothing more than the "Great Man" himself.

II. *Some space is temporarily more sacred. Everyday acts are creative, and shamans are even more so, but past and future must be actively annihilated.*

For the Paiute of the Great Basin, nature is a source of sacred power and of orientation, which is revealed in unsolicited dreams.[15] Although there are no permanent sacred structures, the sacred is revealed temporarily and articulated in the round dance.[16] This dance separates the inner circle of sacred space from the outer world. The dance symbolizes the cycle of life and it must not be broken for the duration of its existence. Unlike the Naskapi, the Paiute *did* something to annihilate time. There is a tabu against using the name of the dead, and the mourners tell the recently departed in no uncertain terms to "go away, don't come back and bother us!" The dead do not go far--just over the next mountains to the south. This is a monistic vision of the world, but unlike the Naskapi, the Paiute tell a story of creation, even if it is very rudimentary. The earth was formed by

Wolf, who put some dirt on the surface of the waters, and it grew by itself to its present size. Out of this earth arose all the inhabitants of the world, including humans.[17] So there are some powerful beings like Wolf and Coyote, but no personified spirits.[18]

More important than stories of creation, however, is life in the present world. Creative action for the "commoner" consists neither in biological transformations (those are reserved exclusively for the shaman) nor in structural changes in the environment such as the pueblo people practiced, but in simply "being good."[19] A person has power by maintaining good relationships with other people and with nature. It helps in living successfully if there is a guardian spirit. No one, however, is a complete failure for having no vision.[20] This vision is of some natural being in the real world. It may indeed be just that mountain over there.[21] It is the shaman, however, who is regarded as the professional in the vision business. He cures, leads hunters to the game, and bewitches. There are ambivalent feelings toward him, since no one is sure whether he will work good or evil. Whereas the Naskapi consider everyone potentially his own shaman, for the Paiute the shaman alone has special access to power. Ordinary people, nevertheless, can get along well enough without a vision.

Where sacred space is actualized more intensely in visions and the round dance, and when time weighs heavily, making it necessary to work for its annihilation, then there is need for a professional. He alone can expend the time and effort and can have the powerful vision necessary to be of service to his clients. Indeed, the professional alone is truly creative,[22] even though "being good" is the norm. During contests, for example, a shaman will cut his own tongue out and rejoin it.

III. *Space is permanently sacred, but limited in extent. Time is occasionally sacred, during which shamanic acts alone are creative. Past and Future are annihilated only during these conditions.*

The Pomo and other bands in California find security within their village, a small and circumscribed sacred precinct. The limits of the village are, however, vague, e.g., unlike the clearly structured sacred space of the Navajo. On the other hand, the Kuksu dances represent a more complex pattern of ritual and ceremony than the round dance of the Paiute, and they are held during "Big Times" when spatially distant divine beings join in the human celebration. Big Times are not radically different from other times, but more intense. Secret societies of shaman (who are in fact most of the males of the village) practice curing during the Big Times and perform dances in which divine beings are impersonated. The celebration is both for the benefit of the individual being cured, and an expression of the solidarity between members of the village and the divine beings.[23] These beings have always been divine, and their actions often are unrelated to actions in the human world. This suggest a dualism between the human and the divine worlds.

Creation stories proliferate in California, ranging from simple earth-diver legends to abstract notions of creation out of nothing. By recalling paradigmatic acts of origins, and by celebrating Big Times, the Pomo express a felt need to annihilate time. Sacred time is limited to those Big Times when the divine beings are present, and the distinction between sacred and profane time is one of intensity. The individual fears profane time because mysterious "sacred" things may happen such as bewitchment and "poisoning." Sacred space is also distinguished from profane space by intensity rather than

kind. The individual avoids, if possible, venturing beyond the limits of the village. There is, furthermore, a tension between the collective responsibility and individual initiative which portrays this vague but pervasive ambivalence regarding sacred and profane space and time.[24]

IV. *Some space is permanently sacred and extensive. Time is occasionally sacred, and cyclical. Past and future are annihilated both during occasions of sacred time and during the healthy times of the individual life cycle.*

For the Navajo, sacred space is permanently differentiated from profane space in the natural world by an imaginary line joining the four sacred mountains and circumscribing the area of the four corners. Home is within this sacred area, wherein one walks the pollen path of life.[25] Outside is chaos, pollution. To return from the profane world, it is necessary to undergo a curing ceremony and be purified. The pollen path represents that harmony between human beings and nature which assures health: there one "walks in beauty."[26] Illness is ugliness, and both are cured by a healing ceremony which restores the harmony of the pollen path. The curing ceremony regenerates the times of origin by including the recitation of the origins of the ceremony itself. That origin story is in turn a component of the myth of the beginnings of the Navajo themselves, a story of emergence from lower worlds. As humans emerged through their different worlds, the previous worlds were left behind.[27] In both their emergence story and their chantways, the Navajo practice the annihilation of profane time in active and deliberate ways.[28]

A person who has been cured by re-creation and re-generation has been returned to the pollen path. The path does not have a goal. It is circular

within the confines of the four corners. Orientation is not determined by personal access to power, nor by private vision of some natural phenomenon, but by walking the circular (or sometimes spiral) pollen path. In addition, the shaman has taken on the role of priest, since he must learn the chantway from a teacher and practice it correctly. Harmony must be consciously maintained through each individual's attention to time.

V. *A structure is sacred, but temporary. Time is not annihilated. Some personal times of some individuals are recorded and sacred.*

The Ojibwa consecrate a particular architectural space when occasion demands. This is the medicine or *midê* lodge, the ceremonial house used by the secret society of shaman. Since sacred space is so limited, the divine beings have no place to live *here*, so they must dwell in a distant place. This means that the individual must exert some effort to contact them, which is done through the seeking of visions.

The *midê* lodge was for curing, that is, creative transformation. A shaman, however, could cure without the offices of the lodge.[29] In addition, he could change the nature of objects other than human.

The past was not annihilated altogether. Some of it was recorded on birch bark scrolls which are themselves permanent works of art. The record is a collection of the shaman's songs and knowledge of the rites of the midewiwin, and only he knows the meanings. The scroll is not a paradigm for general repetition, but a record of the unique individual's understanding. It can be taught to someone, but the particular configurations of the scroll have value in their own right.[30] It is the personal experience of visions establishing a relationship with the more-than-humans, the recording of the *midê* knowledge and its use in the lodge, that assures the individual of health and good fortune.

VI. *A permanent structure is sacred. Sacred times are regular and cyclic. Creation is in permanent natural materials.*

The Delaware find it impossible to live continually within a sacred space and time continuum. One must learn to cope with a permanent separation between sacred and profane space. On the one hand, the bridge between the human and divine worlds can be crossed during the ceremonies, and on the other hand, a person may receive the blessing.[31]

The Big House carries an elaborate and self-conscious symbolism. It is said to represent both the world and the year.[32] The central post is carved to symbolize the creator, Gicelemukaong, who lives in the twelfth heaven. It is the central post of the universe, concerning the heavenly worlds above with the pitiable world below.[33] The third dimension of space is an important element[34] because it symbolizes the transcendent realm which can break in upon the world of human beings. Its inhabitants, like humans, indeed *gods*. Although images may be made to represent them, the likeness is not of the appearance out of the spirit. This dualism is expressed in the distinction between agricultural and hunting traditions, which have come together here in a tentative marriage of opposites.

Ceremonies carried out in the Big House are for the renewal of the world. It is said that the task of maintaining harmony is ". . .to ensure that the ordinary sequence of events shall be maintained and that the world shall never depart from its accustomed ways."[37] The dance around the inside of the Big House symbolizes walking the white path of the year.[38] A person is fated to live according to the dance. Thus the next year proceeds, based upon the past dances.

The Iroquois express a more intense concern about the historical past. The wampus belts commemorate important events, reminding the Iroquois of their collective historical destiny, which is to spread to all nations the "great white roots of peace."

Summary

1. Naskapi: All space is sacred, all present time is profane. Orientation is horizontal and individual. Creativity is by biological transformation. The individual lives by his wits and determines his own future. Nature is inviolable. Every man is his own shaman. Cosmology is monistic. There is no myth of creation. The economy is hunting.

2. Paiute: Some space is sacred some times. Most time is profane and must be annihilated. Orientation is horizontal, and, collectively celebrated. Creativity is by biological transformation, but only by the shaman. He also transforms material objects somewhat in his rock-paintings. The individual has freedom to determine his future, but collective values are informally important. He succeeds better if he also has a guardian, but he cannot actively seek one. Nature is more or less inviolable, with the exception of rock-paintings. Cosmology is monistic, but the dead stay dead. The myth of creation is rudimentary. The economy is hunting and gathering.

3. Pomo: Some space is permanently sacred, some time is occasionally sacred. Orientation is mostly horizontal, but vaguely limited in extent. Profane time is actively annihilated during Big Times. Creativity is biological (curing) and material (masks). The individual is free to the extent that he chooses his profession. Nature is inviolable outside of the village compound. The shaman is creative, but somewhat restricted by a shamanic society. Cosmology tends toward dualism, divine beings living in the sky. The economy is small game hunting, fishing, acorn-processing, and gathering.

4. Navajo: Most space is permanently sacred, some time occasionally sacred. Orientation is horizontal, exactly limited, and downward. Time is annihilated during elaborate curing ceremonies. Creativity is biological

(curing) and temporarily but elaborately material (sandpaintings). The individual may choose to live by submitting to the harmonies of nature, or by not submitting. Nature may be manipulated temporarily, so it is not completely inviolable. The shaman is also a priest. He cures as well as mediates the tradition. The cosmology is dualistic, between Holy People and Earth Surface People, but Holy People are neither completely transcendent nor necessarily good. The myth of creation is complex, people emerging from lower worlds. The economy is hunting and raiding.

5. Ojibwa: Some space is temporarily sacred in man-made structures, and some time is sacred as a record of individual experiences. Orientation is vaguely vertical, manitos (divine beings) living in the sky but also all around. Creativity is biological and material (birchbark scrolls), and the individual past is not annihilated but recorded. The individual ought to obtain a guardian through seeking a vision. Shaman act as priests within a secret society. Nature is manipulated somewhat in the creation of scrolls. Cosmology is vaguely dualistic. The myth of creation is elaborate, the trickster being the main creator. Economy is hunting and gathering of natural grains.

6. Delaware: A permanent structure is sacred. Regular times of ceremonies are sacred. Time is celebrated rather than annihilated. Orientation is explicitly vertical, and upward. Creativity is by societies of curers, and by permanent transformations of material in structures and masks. The individual must make his own way, and this is predetermined by himself for the ensuing year. Nature is manipulated in not only creative changes, but in agriculture. The priest regulates ceremonies, and the shaman is controlled by secret societies. Cosmology is dualistic, with gods and several heavens. The myth of creation is a vague union of earth and sky. Economy is divided between hunting and farming.

NOTES

[1]Benjamin Lee Whorf, "An American Indian Model of the Universe," in *Teachings from the American Earth*, edited by Dennis and Barbera Tedlock (New York: Liveright, 1976), p. 122.

[2]Mircea Eliade, *The Sacred and the Profane*, (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1959), p. 22 and p. 75. The present paper attempts to demonstrate that the neat dichotomy between sacred and profane is an oversimplification. Cf. Larry Shiner, "Sacred Space, Profane Space, Human Space," *Journal of the American Academy of Religion*, XL (Dec., 1972), pp. 425-436, who disagrees with Eliade, but on different grounds. Shiner does not take into account the extensive creativity of western civilization (in its ability to change the face of the earth) as a sign of the sacredness of time, and so confuses his argument.

[3]MacLinscott Ricketts, "The North American Indian Trickster," *History of Religions* 5 (Winter, 1966), p. 348, "Because the trickster, in the beginning, established the world-as-it-is, this world (as it is perceived and ordered by the mind of man) becomes the sphere of sacred reality. Not the transcendent realm, but this world; not the confined space of the dance ground or the temple, but the whole earth, is holy. Not simply the time of the ceremonials, but all times are sacred...."

[4]Frank G. Speck, *Naskapi* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1935), p. 20.

[5]*Ibid.*, p. 53.

[6]Edmund Carpenter, "The Timeless Present in the Mythology of the Aivilik Eskimos," *Anthropologica* 3 (Ottowa, 1956), p. 1. "Aivilik mythology simply ignores the question of creation. The world never came into existence; it has always been, exactly as now." Cf. Edward T. Hall, *The Hidden Dimension* (Garden City: Doubleday and Co., Inc., Anchor Books, 1969), p. 79.

[7]Joseph Campbell, *The Masks of God: Primitive Mythology* New York: The Viking Press, 1959), p. 348.

[8]Werner Muller, "North America," in Walter Krickeberg, et. al., *Pre-Columbian American Religions*, (New York: Holt, Rinehart, and Winston, 1968), p. 154.

[9]*Ibid.*, p. 157.

[10]Speck, *op. cit.*, p. 41.

[11]Muller, *op. cit.*, p. 155, and Speck, *op. cit.*, pp. 55-56.

[12]The "shape-shifter" is a universal theme. Proteus would prophecy if forced to reveal his true nature. It is significant that Proteus means "first-man," and that the most archaic forms of "art" should be shamanic shape-shifting.

[12]Time is profane in that no ritual repeats the cosmogony, there being no cosmogony. Yet, Mircea Eliade claims that temporality in the context of creativity cannot be denied *either*. There is need then to re-work these categories in the light of the Naskapi and Eskimo experiences.

[13]These are, of course, the modern terms for the shape-shifting character of the trickster.

[14]This is controversial. Speck, *op. cit.*, p. 180 wrote: "His soul-spirit speaks to him in dreams." Muler, *op. cit.*, p. 154 seems to suggest that the form is an animal or natural phenomenon.

[15]Julian H. Steward, "Ethnography of the Owens Valley Paiute," *University of California Publications in American Archaeology and Ethnology* 33 (1933), p. 308.

[16]Maria-Gabriele Wosien, *Sacred Dance: Encounter with the Gods*, New York: Avon, 1974, p. 21, "The continuous coming face-to-face with the divine centre was celebrated in the ritual encircling of sacred sites, objects or persons, as well as in round dances around a holy centre. To circumscribe the centre was to be in constant relationship with the source of being. Thereby geography was transformed into symbolic cosmology, and man at its centre became the cosmocrator."

[17]Don D. and Catherine S. Fowler, "Stephen Powers' 'The Life and Culture of the Washo and Paiutes'," *Ethnohistory* 17 (Summer-Fall, 1970), p. 133.

[18]Steward, *op. cit.*, p. 307.

[19]*Ibid.*, p. 306, "But by following a good life, being kind, helpful, and generous, you have great power, as I have had."

[20]Julian H. Steward, "Two Paiute Autobiographies," *University of California Publications in American Archaeology and Ethnology*, 33, (1933), p. 424.

[21]*Ibid.*

[22]Campbell Grant, *Rock Art of the American Indian*, (New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Company, 1967), p. 32, "It is known that among recent Great Basin tribes, a hunt-shaman often directed the communal hunt and it seems likely many of the pictures were picked by the shaman himself or under his direction prior to the hunt."

[23]A. J. Kroeber, *Handbook of the Indians of California*, (Berkeley: California Book Company, Ltd., 1953), pp. 391-442.

[24]B. W. and E. G. Aginsky, *Deep Valley: The Pomo Indians of California* (New York: Stein and Day, 1967).

[25]Margaret Link, *The Pollen Path* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1956), p. 152.

[26]*Ibid.*

[27]Gladys Reichard, *Navajo Religion* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1950), p. 41. Unlike the Hopi, the Navajo have no interest in the destiny of the dead, nor any notion of a return to previous worlds.

[28]*Ibid.*, p. 43, "The chanters stressed the idea of harmony... all repudiated the idea of a *personal* immortality."

[29]Ruth Landes, *Ojibwa Religion and the Midewiwin* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1968), p. 86.

[30]*Ibid*, p. 72.

[31]Eliade, *op. cit.*, p. 89. Cf. Margon Astrov, *American Indian Prose and Poetry* (New York: Capricorn Books, 1946), p. 169, quoting from the Delaware Big House ceremony, "And, my kindred, now from hence as we are going home, you must take good care, for you are carrying with your the spirit of Delaware worship," and James Slotkin, *The Menomini Powwow* (Milwaukee Public Museum Publications in Anthropology number 4, 1957).

[32]Eliade, *op. cit.*, p. 73, "in a number of North American Indian languages the term world (=cosmos) is also used in the sense of the year."

[33]Astrov, *op. cit.*, p. 166, prayer is one means of making contact with beings who are more powerful than humans: "Pitiful I am, indeed, as it is said. It rests very heavily upon my mind when I see each year how at present this our way of living has become pitiful."

[34]S. Giedion, *The Eternal Present: 1. The Beginnings of Art* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1957), p. 6, suggests that high civilizations are introduced by the appearance of this third dimension.

[35]The "false face" society of the Iroquois wear masks protraying powers of the divine beings, but the masks are not meant to conceal the identity of the wearers. There is though a distinction to be made between appearance of reality.

[36]Frank Speck, *A Study of the Delaware Big House Ceremony* (Harrisburg: Historical Commission, 1931).

[37]Muller, *op. cit.*, p. 166.

[38]*Ibid.*, p. 163. Cf. Astrov, *op. cit.*, p. 69, "The White Path is the symbol of the transit of life; it stands for the road of life down which man wends his way with iron inevitability."

[39]Muller, *op. cit.*, p. 209, "their whole psychology is different. The tension between the hostile twins suits the warlike Iroquois; while the peacful Zuni (another pueblo people) are happy with the constant rhythm of their festal year..."

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NATIVE EMPLOYMENT IN A FRONTIER REGION

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ABSTRACT: Northern Canada is the "last frontier", complete with all the mystique this engenders. Southern attempts at development of the North to date are not unqualified successes because (a) planning and development strategies for the North tend to be designed in the south, and include southern-oriented preconceptions (b) development per se is premature. However, given that a set of non-economic motives is an impetus, it is unlikely that these attempts will cease. The author maintains that successful strategies will be region-centred, incorporating both group and individual work preferences of the indigenous population, while focusing towards a goal of increasing regional self-sufficiency.

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Prologue

Classic responses to the problem of planning for a given region with a problem of underemployment and unemployment would be increased utilization of existing resources, attraction of new industries, particularly labour-intensive industries (Conference Board of Canada Publication #671), upgrading of the skills of the local inhabitants, and increased exports of goods and services while aiming for regional self-suficiency.

However, northern Canada (technically defined as north of 60° N. lat., although coloquially referred to as any region of perma-frost and/or under a Territorial government) is a unique region. (The reference parameters in this paper include these concepts and additionally a concept of a region with under-utilization of manpower resources.) Although, broadly speaking, the regional goals of the north would be the same as for a typical region, there are a number of inhibiting factors to be clearly understood and assessed before a specific regional policy can be designed.

It is felt necessary to take this approach because previous attempts to increase participation in the labour force, based on traditional planning assumptions and techniques have not always been noted for their outstanding success in meeting targets.

For this reasons, it is hypothesized that economic policies have been applied using assumptions based on southern-oriented preconceptions, and it is further hypothesized that there will be little change in the north in the future unless some of these assumptions are either modified or eliminated, and new policies based on these changes implemented.

The Northern Problem is seen to be a problem of underemployment and unemployment. Popular belief holds that the chief contributing factor to the observed scarcity of indigenous workers must be found within the cultural patterns of the natives themselves. The natives (disregarding the cultural plurality of groups in the north) are said to be lazy, shiftless, unreliable, unskilled, uneducated, not time-oriented, and preferring to live off social subsidies such as welfare, Family Allowance, Old Age Benefits, etc. This is held to be in sharp contrast with the self-image of southern Canadian workers, who believe themselves to be keen, agressive, reliable, skilled, educated, punctual, and abhorrent of welfare.

It is true that in the past many examples to support both opinions have been found. However, there is a changing climate of belief concerning both these stereotypes.[1]

Lampe (1974) hypothesized that the work performance record of natives in the north reflected, not the abilities of natives nor the cultural imperatives of an aboriginal life style, but a much more direct relationship between types of jobs offered and to which individuals a particular job was matched.[2]

He discovered that native workers preferred high wages, and a permanent job from which they could return to their families daily. Less highly rated were low-paid jobs of short duration (less than a year) which were so far away as to inhibit travel home. Also preferred but not as

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[1] One extremist position is upheld by Richard Needham (Toronto Globe & Mail); he feels that the stereotype of the ambitious worker in southern Canada is as applicable to modern Canadian society as a 19th century bathing costume is to today's French Riviera.

[2] To test this, he compared the stated work-related preferences of 89 males, age 22-66, residents in the Yukon Territory, with prior work experience in the same northern mining enterprise, to the opinions of ten local employment specialists whose responsibility it was to match job seekers with compatible jobs on the basis of their understanding of native preferences.

strongly were job hygiene factors such as, presence of friends or relatives in the work environment, presence of other Indian co-workers and/or supervisors, and a physical work environment which provided a mix of indoor and outdoor activity. These findings contrast with the expectations of the employment specialists, whose "typical Indian" was felt to want short-term or seasonal casual labour outdoors, among friends, with Indian co-workers and supervisors, and who, it was felt, would settle for low to moderate wages.

A similar research design compared the expectations of teachers for the responses of their students on a questionnaire to measure degree of occupational prestige of various work options, to the actual responses of the students. It was found that "the teachers however tended to drastically underrate the native student's evaluations of scientific, professional and managerial occupations, overrate drastically their evaluations of menial, unskilled and semi-skilled occupations, and to overrate considerably their evaluations of such jobs as heavy duty equipment operator, boat builder, hunter and trapper. Many native students ...seemed to express a preference for what they believed to be a 'citified' way of life. ...This seeming preference for a 'citified' way of life was considerably underrated by the teachers who at the same time much overrated the native student's evaluation of outdoor work." (Smith, 1974)

It can be suggested that a research design to compare the work preferences and occupational prestige rankings of various jobs of both northern and southern workers would show more similarities than differences between the

two groups of workers. Thus the inherent assumptions by the employment specialists concerning the types of jobs wanted by their clients, the job-seekers, are at best questionable, and according to Lampe, are a signficiant contributing factor to native under-achievement in the labour force. Lampe suggests that the employment specialists make more effort to treat each job-seeker individually rather than applying broad stereotypes to his preferences and abilities. If a stereotype must creep in, then native wage workers in a wage economy are more like other wage workers than like other people who may not be wage workers. (Compare this with "Canadian Work Values", Manpower & Immigration Review, v.8, #3, 1975 p.17-22).

As the "nativeness" of the northern workers is an image widely held and often cited (ut supra p. 2) in an attempt to explain their low participation rate in the labour force, and as this image does not stand up well before preliminary scrutiny, it is wise to call other assumptions into question.

One assumption is composed of tangled threads of belief concerning the nature of work, the nature of the labour force, and the role of unemployment insurance.

In the southern system, the potential labour force is defined for statistical purposes as people between the ages of 15 and 65. Those people who are employed and thus part of the actual labour force receive money for their work. Those people who do not receive money for their work are unemployed, and not part of the labour force. Thus, the implicit assumption is that the only recognizable form of work is

paid-work. All other activity is not paid, is therefore not work, and has no economic reality. Even in southern society, this is an invalid assumption. The mechanic who fixes his own car instead of paying another mechanic to fix it may not be paying himself at his accustomed wage rate, and thus is not directly adding to the GNP, but neither is he paying another, although the work is performed. Yet this is work with a monetary equivalent, and has an impact on the household economy.

The likelihood of a person performing this type of work is even higher in the north. "Hunter and Trapper" is a type of occupation which is still pursued on either a full-time or a part-time basis. The return from this type of work may be traded for other goods and services, or directly consumed within the household. Because there is caribou in the house, outside expenditures don't have to be made for equivalent foodstuffs. Yet, the production of the Hunter and Trapper is not likely to appear in any statistical summary. He is more likely to be classified as "unemployed" or "seasonably unemployed" during those times he spends on the land, and thus yield misleading statistics.

Social assistance programs in Canada are designed with good intentions. It is assumed that in a free market economy, from time to time, local disruptions will occur, temporarily disadvantaging some individuals, although in the long run, both society as a whole and the individuals will benefit. The concept of social assistance is that it ought to ameliorate the effects of this dislocation of the economy for the individuals concerned, and to prevent a negative multiplier effect resulting from the loss of their consuming potential. In essence, this is a modified Economic Darwinism. It is to be noted, however, that acceptance of social

assistance which is not universal (e.g., Family Allowance is universal) carries with it a stigma. Recipients are characterized as "people too lazy to work".[3]

When some groups are seen to be collecting disproportionately larger amounts of social assistance than others, the reasons for this are usually attributed to personal failings of the group involved, rather than looking to structural factors in the system which may be influencing the rate of participation.

These structural factors in northern Canada relate back to the marginality of the environment itself which has only limited capabilities to support human populations; to the disruptive effects of encroaching southern civilization which altered traditional sharing patterns of mutual assistance, replacing these patterns with public assistance; to the restructuring of the learning experience from a set of skills compatible with existence on the land to a set of academic skills with little direct relationship to post-educational employment; and to a scarcity of paid wage work opportunities which can be more clearly understood when related to a Von Thunen transportation model.

The difficult conditions of living in the north have been well publicized, and so will not be discussed here. Sharing patterns as a means to redistribute income have been noted in non-urban societies. It was a form of social assistance among reciprocating kinship groups. Mitchell (1965) observed that migrant African wage workers who became integrated into the wage economy of urban centers tended to avoid prior kinship affiliations which would impose an obligation to share income with non-wage workers.

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[3] A typical "Needhamism" would be: I'm collecting the benefits I paid for; you're beating the system; he's a lazy welfare bum!

Bowles (1975) has noted a similar pattern developing among wage working northerners. With the breakdown of customary sharing patterns, which do not appear as a statistical profile on the flow of goods and services, public assistance is sought to replace kin-group assistance, and this does become a matter of public record. As with employment data, interpretation of absolute social assistance data is difficult, and the figures suspect.

The superimposition of a southern learning structure onto northern lifestyles was perhaps the single most disruptive institution to affect the northern economy. To comply with a policy of mandatory school attendance, families either had to leave their children in residential schools for the greater part of the year, or move into a government settlement so their children could attend school. If the child in a residential school only returned home for two months each year between the ages of 8 and 16, which traditionally were the peak learning years in which children assililated the environmental knowledge necessary to enable them to survive as an adult, then the body of adult skills would be imperfectly learned and poorly retained. After completion of the period of mandatory schooling, the 16 year old would have inadequate skills for either a successful traditional existence on the land or for successful competition as an urbanized wage-worker. If the family decided to move to town during the period of schooling, the adults would have to compete for such work as was available, and if unsuccessful, accept social assistance.[4] Thus, in the short run, the results of enforced school attendance contribute to a lack of self-sufficiency among graduate attendees and their families.

Scarcity of wage-work opportunities is more directly a function of the location of the region with respect to other regions and market centres. This can best be explained by the application of a Von Thunen model.

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[4] Oscar Lewis' "Culture of Poverty" (summary in October 1966 Scientific American) is analogous to the situation which is developing. Offspring of families who are "better off" have more regular school attendance, and are more likely to continue upgrading of skills either through formal education or on-the-job training. Offspring of marginal families are more likely to have irregular attendance, drop out early, and maintain that skill level. That this is applicable in the north has been pointed out by Bowles (1975). Thus, the better one's chances were to begin with, the more likely one is to attain a measure of success, and conversely.

The outer ring of the Von Thunen model is assigned to 'frontier' It is not seen to be an integrated part of the system of a given urban area, as the inner rings are seen to be a definite part of the urban hinterland. The outer fringe area will link to the inner area only for high value or rare goods; otherwise, there will be little exchange between them. This is similar to the case in the north. Items coming from the north have tended to be rare and high value, such as furs and gold; more recently, oil is assuming a potential importance. With the exception of the recent export of craft items, northern industry is essentially limited to the production of primary goods for export, with secondary processing taking place beyond the region

This is also in line with Innis' Staple Theory, which was developed on the basis of the 'Fish Fur and Farming' sequence in southern Canada. The northern fur trade initially built upon the existing economic linkages.[5] Subsequent trade began to focus on the Hudson's Bay Company outposts, with surplus furs being traded for cash money or its equivalent, and then this cash being exchanged for a range of imported consumer goods. A shift in economic focus was occasioned by the introduction of the fur trade which placed greater emphasis on the procuring of furs (for conversion to cash and consumer goods) than had been the case in the traditional life-style. This left the population more susceptible to environmental fluctuations, but additionally for the first time the northern economic structure was linked to an external market with its vagaries. With high world prices for furs, there was a greater demand in the north to export these furs;

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[5] Early European contact initiated trade with such things as knives, iron kettles, polished metal mirrors, tobacco tins, etc., receiving curios such as bone carvings and fur garments in return (Boaz, 1888). Later contact with Indians in the north exhibited similar patterns. These trade goods followed established trading linkage systems in the north and were later found among groups having no prior contact with European civilization (Gubser, 1965).

however, with low world prices, it became uneconomical to bring furs from the northern frontier with its high transportation costs.[6]

Essentially, these conditions have not altered. The north is still on the outer ring, the frontier area of Von Thunen's model. And, they are still at the staple good stage of development. In the ordinary course of time, this region is likely to remain at this stage pending expansion of southern markets. It is likely that oil exploration and development will continue as it has, hiring some local people as a direct result of current government labour policies. This will have a small feedback effect on the local economy, but the bulk of the generated wealth will return outside the region, in a backwash effect. As gold prices rise on the international market, it is likely that old talings will be reworked, either on a small scale labour intensive basis, or using hydraulic methods to wash away overburden. This will have a small input to the economy of the north. There will probably be a steady market for art and craftwork, with a fairly low yield to the artisan, although growth of artists' and craftworkers' Co-ops may increase the yield to the local economy. With the growing conservationist feeling against the use of natural furs as clothing or accessories to fashion, it is likely that this market, unstable at the best of times, will decrease, and play a less significant part than it now does.

Realistically, the southern Canadian market is not yet sufficiently expanded to warrant closer integration of northern and southern economies at this time. Such an integration would presuppose a more extensive development of the infrastructure, particularly roads and other transportation networks, than in fact now exists, or is likely to

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[6] Reliance on a staple fur-based economy initiated a 'boom & bust' mentality that was reinforced by later experiences with various northern construction projects. It is felt that this has hindered successful adaptation to a stable wage-work economy in that it alternates intense activity with enforced idleness, as is the present pattern, rather than contributing to a steady work situation. Additionally, this reinforces the immediacy of perception with regard to such activities as spending patterns, which reinforce the extremes of an economic cycle (Bowles 1975).

exist, in the near future. Thus, it seems unlikely that new industry will be attracted to locate in northern Canada, and the prospect of significantly increased opportunities for wage work is slim, until these preconditions are met.

However, there are non-economic factors operative which will affect the economic outcome of this region. On a political level, awareness of the North and its potential for development began seriously with the construction of the Alaska Highway, continued with the construction of the early warning systems (D.E.W., Pine Tree, Mid-Canada) and was most recently reawakened with the international oil crisis and the realization that the bedrock structure of the Sverdrup Basin was potentially oil-rich, and that oil had already been discovered at a number of points in the Territories.

In 1972, the popular press exposed the political vulnerability of this area by dramatizing the Manhattan incident, and recalling echoes of the doctrine of Manifest Destiny.[7]

Another non-economic factor derives from a philosophical perspective which was prevalent in 19th century anthropological thought; mankind evolved from savage to barbarian to civilized man, and ultimately to the present. This teleological reasoning maintained that all civilizations had to pass through these stages, and it was a duty, a Noblesse Oblige, on the part of the highly civilized nations to guide less advanced societies along this path. Coupled with this is a policy statement which maintains that one of the tasks of the federal government is to strive to reduce regional inequalities.

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[7] The American tanker Manhattan attempted a crossing from west to east of the Northwest Passage. Some believed at the time that if the crossing was demonstrated to be successful and thus feasible on a large scale, little heed would be paid to Canadian claims of territoriality. The Canadian icebreaker, Sir John A. Macdonald, shadowed the Manhattan (Technically, 'provided escort') and rescued it from ice jamming not once, but twice, thus providing a 'Canadian Presence', and reinforcing claims of Canadian sovereignty in the north.

For these reasons, although it may be difficult to justify economically the development of the north at this time, it is most likely that in fact, efforts will continue to be made to increase the standard of living in the north, by increasing the level of economic activity.

Current federal initiatives have focussed on hiring policies and guidelines to be followed by firms receiving government contracts, and on stimulation of local crafts and industries. L.I.P. (Local Initiatives Program) grants are likely applicable, and federal directives to decentralize where possible to do so, already exist. However, this only serves to expand the public sector, which is already one of two major employers in the north.[8] Recent recommendations for future implementation are that a modular apprenticeship system be designed and made operative, in order to upgrade skill levels in the north, that this system lean heavily toward on-the-job training rather than a formal classroom situation and that employers ensure that opportunities for exposure to a wider range of job opportunities, with a potential for job advancement, are provided.

However, more than this is necessary to stimulate economic expansion. Initially, the transportation network will have to be developed to a point where it is within competitive reach of southern markets, whether by road or by sea.[9] This will make northern Canada more attractive to secondary industry than it has been, particularly if a developing transportation net can be coupled with other inducements, possibly in the form of capitalization subsidies for an initial gearing up period, or tax shelters for an initial period. Wage subsidies might be offered during a period in

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[8] Report on employment, Northwest Territories. Manpower & Immigration Review p. 14, v.8, #3, 1975.

[9] The Mackenzie Highway is currently under construction.

which industries employing native workers in trainee positions leading to recognized standards of competence would not have to incur additional training costs, and perhaps have a proportion of the trainees' wages paid for by government as well.[10] Additionally it should be noted that these inducements should be biased towards industries which have a low material input (to avoid high transportation costs) and a high value-added component, in which the chief input of value to the product is labour. This base is necessary if the goal is to make these industries self-sufficient within a reasonably brief time, and not a marginal concern when government assistance is withdrawn. The electronics industry may fit these requirements. Products such as silicon-chip circuits, hand calculators, solid-state components for electronic equipment, pre-wired panels, and other such are possible considerations.

One sector which is not usually considered is the quaternary sector. However, this merits some examination. Significantly, activities in this sector are commonly described as 'footloose'--i.e., to a large extent, actual physical location of buildings, people, etc. is not a governing factor in operations. Many of these activities are based on telecommunications such as telephone and data transmission lines. Highly sophisticated transmission technology is available by satellite (Anik). Negatively, this could be affected by solar activity, so an industry relying on transmission would have to be structured to accommodate. One possible suggestion here is computer software design. Familiarity with software is particularly suited to an on-the-job training approach, and could be a means to upgrade skills of local people. Installation costs for terminals are low, and building costs to house them minimal.

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10 Firms interested in hiring Native Northerners would be well advised to read Hobart's (1974) study of the impact of Gulf Oil in Coppermine.

Information transmission costs are a small part of the total cost. Other possibilities include research and design programs, similar to those currently being undertaken on projects such as alternate energy sources (solar and wind energy), agricultural adaptations to northern conditions, and all-terrain vehicles, for example, the hovercraft, designed to minimally impact the fragile tundra. Once the initial theoretical stages of these projects are underway, they could be expanded to include skilled and semi-skilled native personnel, with provision made for upgrading.

Feedback effects from employment of native personnel will likely appear in the succeeding cohort. A study (Hobart, 1974) comparing the same set of children at two time periods, discovered that, before their fathers took part in an apprenticeship training program with Gulf Oil, the children had low life horizons, while after the program, they had expanded their perceived range of work options and their desire for advanced schooling considerably.

Thus, prospects for northern development can be broadly categorized as increased utilization of existing natural resources (chiefly petroleum, with some increased production of gourmet foodstuffs such as arctic char, development of the tourist industry, and continued mining activities); attraction of new industries with the concurrent upgrading of local skills, particularly labour-intensive industries with a high value-added component; and, increasing self-sufficiency through alternate energy sources and agricultural activity geared to the northern environment. All of these have special constraints insofar as they involve adaptation of established southern patterns to a northern environment; failure to recognize this will yield poor results.

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Personal conversation with teachers, nurses, social workers, returning from the north.

A GEOGRAPHICAL ANALYSIS OF DEMOGRAPHIC AND ECONOMIC CHARACTERISTICS OF THE CHOCTAW INDIAN IN OKLAHOMA AND MISSISSIPPI

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INTRODUCTION

Prior to the Removal Period of 1831-34, the Choctaw, members of the Muskhogean linguistic group, resided predominately in the present-day state of Mississippi near their sacred mound of *Nanih Waiya*. The explorer De Soto and his expedition were the first whites to encounter the Choctaw. As time passed, they came in contact with French and English explorers and finally American settlers. The Choctaw way of life gradually was changed by all these contacts, but the most profound change was provided by missionaries.

While in Mississippi the Choctaw developed a sedentary life style based primarily on agriculture supplemented by hunting and fishing. The Choctaw population in the Mississippi area according to various scholars probably ranged between an estimated low of twelve and a maximum of twenty thousand persons. The Choctaw were famous for their funeral ceremonies involving bone-pickers and periodic cries, but were just as famous for "good-times" particularly their hearty participation in their native ball game (*ishtaboli*).

The Choctaw together with the Chickasaw, Creek, Cherokee, and Seminole were known as the "five civilized tribes". Originally they all were located in the Southern United States east of the Mississippi River, but later many of them were "removed" to Oklahoma. The Choctaw were the

first of the five tribes to be offered Oklahoma homesteads. However, the fourteenth article of the Treaty of Dancing Rabbit Creek provided that if Choctaws became citizens of the United States they could remain in Mississippi. Also, they had to file claim for their land within six months after ratification of the treaty. Plus, they had to live on the land for five years.

The first Choctaw migrants arrived in Oklahoma in 1817, and some voluntary migration continued until the time of Removal. Then, after the Indians were forced to move, only about 5000 remained in Mississippi. However, most of these failed to follow the articles of the Removal Treaty, and consequently lost their land. Thousands more thus migrated to Oklahoma periodically throughout the remainder of the nineteenth century. By 1907, the total number of Choctaw left in Mississippi was 1634. They were scattered over a thirty-one county area. At the same time in Oklahoma, the Choctaw numbered 8012, but were concentrated in the ten county Choctaw Nation.

PURPOSE

The purpose of this paper is to compare and contrast selected demographic, social, and economic characteristics of the Choctaws presently living in Oklahoma and Mississippi. The underlying hypothesis is that; even though these two groups of people are "blood brothers" originating from common backgrounds and presumably having similar abilities and aspiration, have much different qualities of life due to their present locations.

STUDY AREAS AND DATA

The two study areas for this paper are: (1) the ten county Choctaw Nation in southeast Oklahoma, and (2) the seven Choctaw communities and

surrounding rural area of the Choctaw Reservation located in five counties in east Mississippi (Figs. 1-2).

The data for this study came from two special Indian censuses.[1] The Oklahoma data were collected during the summer of 1975 as a Geography Extension activity of the Geography Department at Oklahoma State University. The project was originated and paid for by the Choctaw Tribe. The Mississippi data were collected during the summer of 1974 by the Tribal office in Philadelphia, Mississippi. Both surveys were completed on a house-to-house basis, and relied upon Indian self-identification and responses.

DEMOGRAPHIC COMPONENTS

Total Population. As noted previously, the total Choctaw population of the two study areas was 9,646 in 1907 when Oklahoma became a state. This figure has increased to only 12,797 in 1975. Of this total 9018 Choctaw are in Oklahoma and 3,779 live in Mississippi (Table 1). The highest concentrations of Choctaw are found in McCurtain County, Oklahoma and the Pearl River community in Neshoba County, Mississippi. There is a definite decrease in the density of Choctaw with distance northward and westward of McCurtain County, Oklahoma. A similar distance decay in density exists in all directions away from the community of Pearl River, Mississippi. This locative factor seems to have existed historically for some time in both areas.

Population Growth. The number of Choctaw in the Oklahoma Nation has nearly doubled in the last 25 years from 4837 to 9018 persons. Their number is increasing at about 170 per year. However, the Mississippi growth rate since 1968 is about 60 persons per year less than the total Oklahoma rate. Mississippi Choctaw population increased by 652

THE CHOCTAW NATION

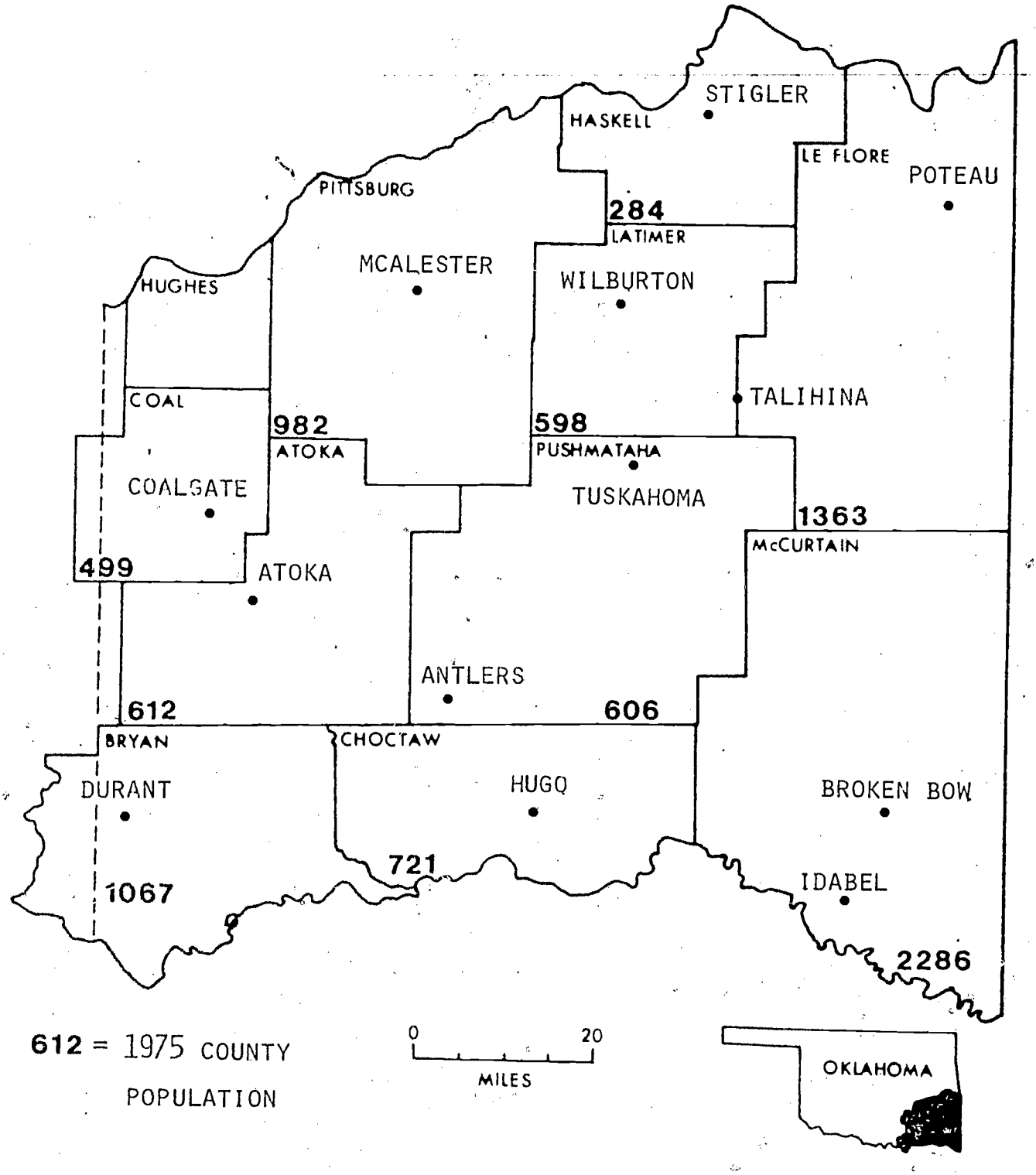

Figure 1

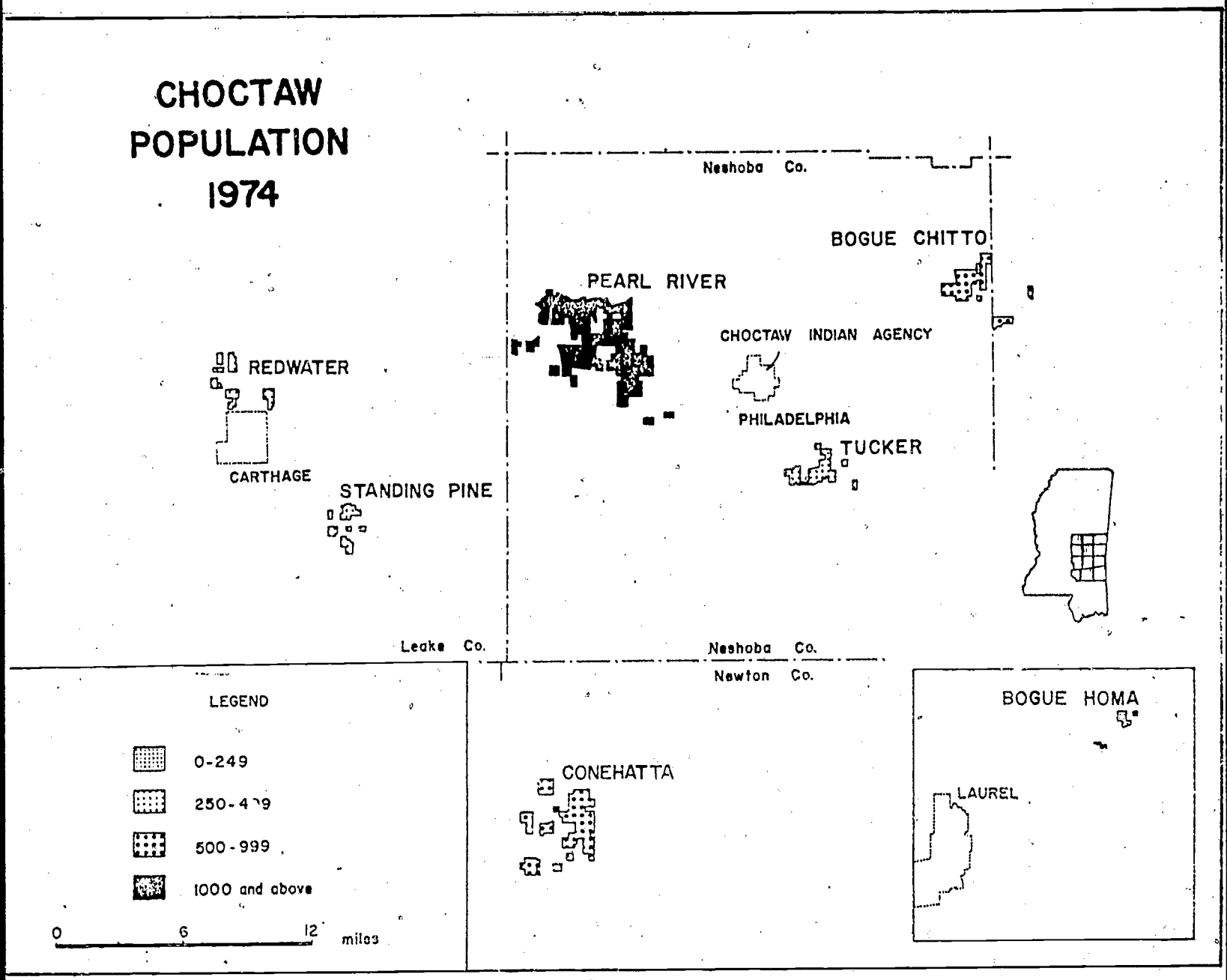
CHOCTAW
POPULATION
1974
Neshoba Co.
BOGUE CHITTO
PEARL RIVER
CHOCTAW INDIAN AGENCY
REDWATER
PHILADELPHIA
TUCKER
CARTHAGE
STANDING PINE
Leake Co.
Neshoba Co.
Newton Co.
LEGEND
0-249
250-499
500-999
1000 and above
0
6
12
miles
CONEHATTA
BOGUE HOMA
LAUREL

Figure 2

persons between 1968 and 1974. It is probably safe to assume that growth rates in both states are due primarily to natural increase in conjunction with some limited remigration. The total growth for both areas is about 280 persons per year. By projecting that rate into the future, it will take the Choctaw another quarter of a century to reach the population maximum (20,000) they possibly achieved before contacts with the whites.

TABLE 1

CHOCTAW POPULATION CHANGE

OKLAHOMA			MISSISSIPPI		
	Population			Population	
County	1950	1975	Community	1968	1974
Atoka	292	612	Bogue Chitto	738	830
Bryan	404	1067	Bogue Homa	72	130
Choctaw	337	721	Conehatta	544	591
Coal	183	499	Pearl River	883	1183
Haskell	236	284	Red Water	381	418
Latimer	487	598	Standing Pine	234	278
LeFlore	575	1363	Tucker	275	130
McCurtain	1540	2286			
Pittsburg	434	982			
Pushmataha	349	606			
	4837	9018		3127	3779

Age and Sex Structure. There are two important features of the age and sex structures of the sample population of Choctaw (Table 2). These features are: (1) the comparatively large number of young people in the population, and (2) the change in the sex ratios from young to old. Of the 12,801 persons represented, 7291 (57 percent) are under the age of 25 years, and 8678 (68 percent) are under the age of 35 years. The youthfulness is more pronounced in the Mississippi Choctaw. By comparison most counties in the United States vary between 35 and 45 percent of the population under 25 years.

TABLE 2

CHOCTAW POPULATION BY AGE AND SEX

OKLAHOMA - 1975

Age	Total	Male	Female	Percentage Total	Male	Female
Under 25	4950	2533	2417	54.9	28.1	26.8
25-34 years	874	395	479	9.7	4.4	5.3
35-44 years	692	286	406	7.7	3.2	4.5
45-64 years	1509	629	880	16.7	7.0	10.0
65 and over	993	389	604	11.0	4.3	6.7
Total	9018	4232	4786	100.0	47.0	53.0

MISSISSIPPI - 1974

Age	Total	Male	Female	Percentage Total	Male	Female
Under 25	2341	1186	1155	61.9	31.4	30.5
25-34 years	513	238	275	13.6	6.3	7.3
35-44 years	365	160	205	9.6	4.2	5.4
45-64 years	416	212	204	11.0	5.6	5.4
65 and over	133	59	74	3.5	1.6	2.0
Age Unknown	15	7	8	.4	.2	.2
Total	3783[a]	1862	1921	100.0	49.2	50.8

a) Please note that four additional persons are added to the total of 3779 given in Table 1.

Besides the Mississippi-Oklahoma differences in the number of young Choctaw, the difference between the percentages of those over 65 also should be noted. Eleven percent of the Oklahoma Choctaw are over 65 years, but only 3.5 percent of the Mississippians are of that age.

There are more female Choctaw than male. In Mississippi the sexes are nearly equally divided, thus the discrepancy occurs in Oklahoma. The difference is accounted for in the older population. It can be seen from Table 2 that in both Mississippi and Oklahoma, males basically outnumber females only in the very youngest age category.

EDUCATION

The educational attainment of the Choctaws is low, and much lower in Mississippi than in Oklahoma. For example, over one-fourth of those

over the age 16 in Mississippi have not gone beyond the third grade in school; whereas in Oklahoma, less than ten percent of the population has achieved less than the third grade. On the other end of the scale, over 15 percent of the Oklahoma Choctaw have had some college training, but less than seven percent of the Mississippi Choctaw have gone to college.

As would be expected, the older people have less education than the younger ones. However, again this is much more pronounced in Mississippi than in Oklahoma. Of the Mississippi Choctaw over age 65, none have gone to college and nearly 90 percent have not gone beyond the third grade. The same age category in Oklahoma is much more closely aligned with the other age groups as over half of those in that age group have graduated from the eighth grade. In fact, nearly 10 percent of the Oklahoma Choctaw over age 65 have had some college.

Choctaw education must be improved. In fact, 57.7 percent in Oklahoma and a deplorable 77.9 percent in Mississippi have not graduated from high school. The mean and median school year completed was 10 and 8 in Oklahoma and Mississippi respectively. Nationally the median was 12.2 years in 1970, and 9.8 for Native Americans.

OCCUPATIONS AND UNEMPLOYMENT

The occupations of both the Oklahoma and Mississippi Choctaw are predominately of the lowest paying blue collar types. There may be some discrimination problems in both regions, but the low educational attainment also is a contributing factor.

Nearly 63 percent of the Oklahoma Choctaw work as: (1) service workers, (2) laborers, or (3) farm workers, or are unemployed. And, for the same categories in Mississippi the percentage is slightly over 72. Less than fourteen percent of the Oklahoma Choctaw hold professional

and white collar type jobs, and fewer than eight percent of the Mississippi Choctaw are in those employment categories. Over a third of the employable Choctaw in Mississippi do not have jobs, and just over a quarter of the Oklahoma Choctaw are unemployed. By comparison, Americans become very concerned about the economy when national unemployment approaches ten percent.

Many of the unemployed Choctaw never have been employed. Also many of those in Mississippi who have never held a job are female. Not only are these women unskilled, uneducated, and unemployed, but they also are 'heads of households'. Thus, they not only are trying to maintain a household, but they are looking for employment, and they have little to offer a potential employer. The classic problem exists that plagues most poverty areas. Other male-female unemployment comparisons indicate that in Mississippi many more female than male machine operators are unemployed; whereas, the reverse is true in Oklahoma. Evidently this is a reflection of the types of jobs available to women in the two areas, and may be explained by local industrial activities. Other comparisons indicate what might be expected -- more male than female laborers, craftsmen, and farm workers are unemployed.

INCOME

The average Choctaw family income in Oklahoma is only $2928 per year. The lowest incomes are in the most rural counties such as Atoka ($2570), Coal ($2770), Haskell ($2436), and Pushmataha ($2723). All of the counties except Pushmataha are located on the northern and western edge of the Choctaw Nation, or the farthest possible distance from the highest concentrations of Choctaws (Fig. 1). Pushmataha County is one of the most rural counties in Oklahoma.

Choctaw incomes are higher in the Oklahoma Counties where the general incomes are higher, and these are the more urbanized counties such as Bryan ($3290) and Pittsburg ($3149). However, there is a vast discrepancy between Choctaw mean family income and the mean family income for the general population. A difference of $3272 per year exists even though the general population data are for 1970 and the Choctaw data are for 1975. The largest discrepancy is in Pittsburg County where the largest city of the Choctaw Nation is located (McAlester). Most Choctaw in Oklahoma are living in poverty, and many are living under severe poverty conditions.

Geographical data are not available for Mississippi comparable to that for Oklahoma. However, in 1970, the median family income for Choctaws in Mississippi was $3,120. In fact, 58.9 percent of the families were making less than $4,000 a year. The median family income for the state was $6,068. In comparison, the median family income for the United States in 1970 was $9,586.

CONCLUSION

Southeastern Oklahoma, particularly McCurtain County, and eastern Mississippi, especially the community of Pearl River, are the present-day core areas of Choctaw population. The Choctaw population in Oklahoma is about two and one-half times the size of that in Mississippi. But both regions are experiencing population growth and have youthful populations. More than 50 percent of the population in these two regions is under 25 years of age. The educational attainment for Mississippi Choctaws is lower than that in Oklahoma, but both regions are below the national average. Low educational attainment in conjunction with possible discrimination and limited job opportunities in

their respective home environments have relegated Choctaws into lower paying jobs. Numerous Choctaws are unemployed and many families are earning less than $3500 a year.

It is obvious from the foregoing discussion that the Choctaw Indians, whether in Oklahoma or Mississippi, have a very low quality living standard compared to the norm for the United States. Housing, health, and employment are chronic problems plaguing both regions. However, progress is being made through Choctaw self-determination, federal and local assistance and cooperation. Yet, both Choctaw groups are worse off than the general population in the areas where they presently reside. It would appear that the Oklahoma Choctaw are somewhat better off than their brothers on the reservation in Mississippi. However, this difference can probably be explained by examining the differences in the overall economic development between the two states. A common goal which both Choctaw groups must continue to strive for is to raise their quality of life.

FOOTNOTES

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AMERICAN INDIAN MIGRANT SPATIAL BEHAVIOR AS AN INDICATOR OF ADJUSTMENT IN CHICAGO

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Introduction

Urban adjustment as defined by Nagler (1970: 64) is the process of individual association and accommodation to the urban complex through formal and informal organizations embracing the economic, social, political, religious and psycological spheres. The majority of empirical research on urban adjustment by American Indians has focused on migrant assimilation and acculturation to the different urban lifestyle. Many researchers have reported the process of American Indian migrant clustering that results in the establishment of an urban Indian community. Ablon (1964) and Price (1968) have found that the urban Indian community hinders adjustment by encouraging Indian interaction at the expense of more extensive and diverse urban contact. For the individual migrant Snyder (1971) and Weppner (1971) suggest two factors are influential in facilitating the adjustment process: (1) background and training--especially being married, having pre-migration work experience, and having a higher level of education; and (2) early job and economic related success.

This research focuses on urban adjustment of American Indians in terms of spatial behavior, rather than cultural or background characteristics. American Indian urban adjustment is evaluated by analyzing variations in three measures of migrant spatial behavior: (1) initial and current residential location, (2) activity spaces, and (3) residential stability. Activity space refers to those locations with which direct contact occurs as a result of day-to-day activities (Brown and Moore, 1970). Data for this study were gathered through detailed personal interviews with 54 American Indians living in Chicago during the summer of 1973.

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Study Area

The focus of this research is the Chicago American Indian population. Chicago contains one of the largest urban American Indian populations: 15,000 to 20,000 individuals (Neils, 1971: 94). This population represents a 5,000 percent growth from the 4,000 American Indians living in Chicago at the close of World War II (Winslow, 1946: 172). The spatial distribution of the Chicago American Indian population has changed from one somewhat dispersed to one concentrated in the Uptown neighborhood (Map 1). The Uptown neighborhood is a poverty area characterized by a diverse ethnic population dominated by Appalachian Whites and Orientals, and including older European Americans, Spanish speaking Americans and Blacks.

Selection of an Initial Chicago Residence

Slightly over one-half (55.5 percent) of the initial migrant residences are located in the Uptown American Indian community, with the remainder dispersed throughout the Chicago area. Sixty percent of the migrants report closeness to either friends or relatives or employment as the reasons for selecting their first Chicago home (Table 1). The importance of friends and relatives in residential selection as well as other migration decisions documents a Chicago channelized migration system and the desirability of a familiar social environment. Channelization, the movement of individuals from particular origins to particular destinations, is an established rural to urban migration process based on kinship ties and interpersonal communication flows between migrants at origin and destination places (Brown, Schwartzweller and Mangallam, 1963, and MacDonald and MacDonald, 1964). Channelization has resulted in the establishment and maintenance of an Indian community in Chicago, as a continuous supply of migrants arrive and replace earlier

UPTOWN AREA
LOCATION MAP
(Chicago and selected streets and suburbs)

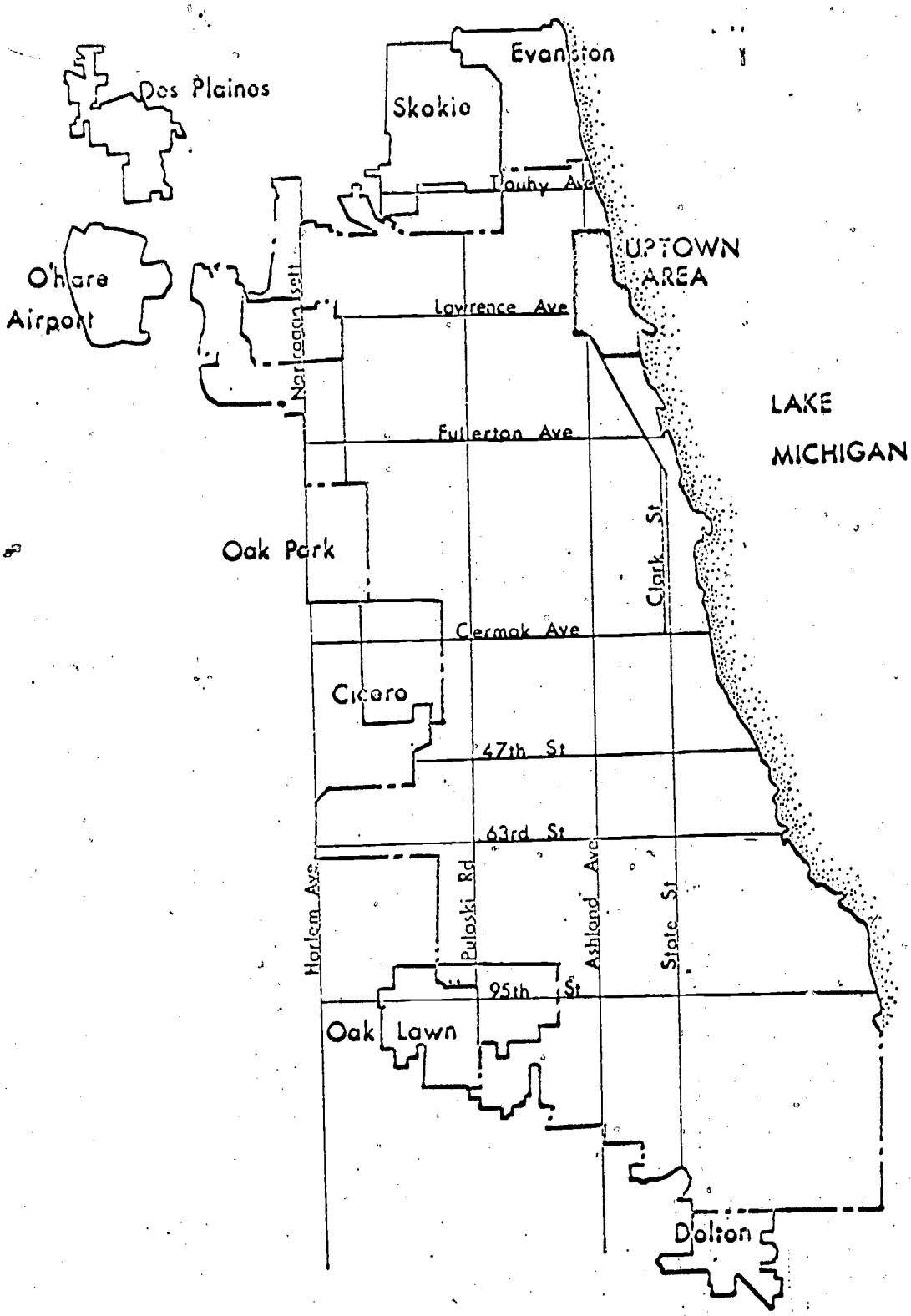

TABLE 1

SELECTION OF THE INITIAL CHICAGO RESIDENCE

REASONS	N	%
Close to Friends or Relatives	20	37.0
Close to Job	13	24.0
Good Home	6	11.2
Close to Public Services	5	9.3
Low Rent	2	3.7
Close to Childs School	1	1.8
Other	7	13.0
Totals	54	100.0

ones who leave. The Indian community reduces urban-reservation social change, functioning as a buffer to the contrast between Chicago and reservation environments by providing an area with familiar faces and activities for migrants who reside here. Since there are few jobs in Uptown most migrants residing near their place of employment are located outside of the Indian community. These migrants may be sacraficing an American Indian social setting for employment reasons and the improved economic status with which it is associated. Thus adjustment to the social sphere, or social adjustment, is facilitated by residing in the Uptown American Indian Community, whereas adjustment to the employment-economic sphere, or economic adjustment, is facilitated by residing near a job site.

Current Residence

More of the migrant samples current residences are located in Uptown (70.3 percent) than were their initial residences, disspelling the melting pot theory for this group. An evaluation of social and physical oriented variables regarding Chicago conditions reveals a variation in migrant attitudes relative to residential location (Table 2). Migrant responses regarding social oriented variables reveal that Uptown residents in comparison to non-Uptown residents are twice as likely to have closer friendships and over three times as likely to interact with other people than on the reservation. Migrants residing in Uptown are also more likely to reside closer to their friends than migrants residing outside of Uptown. Migrant responses to the physical oriented variables reveal that migrants currently residing outside of Uptown are two and one-half times as likely to have a job and twice as likely to have moved to a better house than Uptown residents. These findings document the continuing dominant importance of American Indian social ties for Uptown residents during their urban experience.

TABLE 2

ATTRIBUTES ASSOCIATED WITH CURRENT HOUSING

	Social Oriented Variables								Physical Oriented Variables			
RESIDENTIAL LOCATION	Migrant Friendships in Chicago are Closer than Those On the Reservation		Migrant Interacts With More People in Chicago Than On the Reservation		Migrant Residential Location Relative to Friends or Relatives		Migrant Employment Status		Migrants Current House is Better Than Preceeding House	
	Yes	No	Yes	No	Within 5 Blocks	Over 5 Blocks	Employed	Unemployed	Yes	No
	N %	N %	N %	N %	N %	N %	N %	N %	N %	N %
Within Uptown	18 66.7	9 33.3	19 68.9	9 32.1	19 50.0	19 50.0	11 28.9	27 71.1	6 16.4	32 83.6
Outside Uptown	3 33.3	6 66.7	2 20.0	8 80.0	5 33.3	10 66.7	11 73.3	4 26.7	6 40.0	9 60.0

Although the majority of current residences are located in Uptown, three-fourths of the migrants at one time had at least one residential experience outside of Uptown (Table 3). The Uptown location of current residences further supports the finding of return migration to Uptown. Return migration to Uptown indicates a preference for that neighborhood and that non-Uptown experiences were less desirable.

Migrant Activity Space

An evaluation of migrant spatial adjustment in terms of activity space and the frequency with which it is contracted is presented now. Places recorded in the migrant activity space include: best friend or relative residence, place of employment, grocery and clothes shopping centers, social center, church and child's school. Uptown residents in comparison to non-Uptown residents travel shorter distances to five of the seven action spaces: best friend or relative residence, job, clothes shopping center, social center, and church, with the other two being nearly equal (Table 4). Uptown residents also visit activity spaces more frequently than non-Uptown residents, with the exceptions of job and church, which are virtually identical (Table 4). These findings reveal that Uptown residents most often both travel shorter distances to their action spaces and visit them more frequently than non-Uptown residents. Thus Uptown migrant activity is oriented to the Indian community which reinforces the importance of Indian social ties through frequent Indian contacts. Activities for migrants outside of Uptown encompass more of Chicago, providing greater exposure to the urban area.

Implications of Residential Locations and Activity Spaces

The focus on neighborhood and social activities by Uptown residents endows Uptown with a specific identity and provides migrants with a sense of

TABLE 3

MIGRANT RESIDENTIAL EXPERIENCE OUTSIDE OF UPTOWN

MIGRANT HAS RESIDED OUTSIDE OF UPTOWN					
YES		NO		TOTALS	
N	%	N	%	N	%
42	77.7	12	22.3	54	100.0

RESIDENTIAL STAGE AT WHICH MIGRANT EXPERIENCE OUTSIDE OF UPTOWN OCCURS.					
CURRENT RESIDENCE		PREVIOUS RESIDENCE		INITIAL RESIDENCE	
N	%	N	%	N	%
16	38.1	27	64.2	24	57.0

TABLE 4

MIGRANT ACTIVITY SPACE LOCATIONS RELATIVE TO CURRENT RESIDENCE AND FREQUENCY OF CONTACT

RESIDENTIAL LOCATION	ACTIVITY SPACES: Friend and/or Relative		Job		Grocery Shopping		Clothes Shopping		Social Center		Church		Childs School	
	Distance (Blocks)	Frequency of Contact (per/mo)	Distance (Blocks)	Frequency of Contact (per/mo)	Distance (Blocks)	Frequency of Contact (per/mo)	Distance (Blocks)	Frequency of Contact (per/mo)	Distance (Blocks)	Frequency of Contact (per/mo)	Distance (Blocks)	Frequency of Contact (per/mo)	Distance (Blocks)	Frequency of Contact (per/mo)
	D	F	D	F	D	F	D	F	D	F	D	F	D	F
Within Uptown	19.6	23.9	36.4	27.0	9.9	10.5	11.6	3.5	6.6	15.0	23.1	8.8	4.4	—
Outside Uptown	27.0	20.2	73.3	27.0	7.7	6.6	24.5	2.3	32.5	10.0	37.3	9.0	2.5	—

place and camaraderie with other Indians regardless of tribe that facilitates social adjustment. Achievement of social adjustment enabled by residing in Uptown requires migrant acceptance of the undesirable conditions of the neighborhood: high neighborhood mobility rate and competition from other groups for housing and services; substandard housing; limited commercial and shopping area with high prices; few parks and open spaces; high crime rates, etc. Conditions such as substandard housing, limited shopping alternatives and high prices may be similar to the reservation situation and not cause adjustment problems. However, high neighborhood mobility rate and competition for Uptown housing and services result in significant internal Uptown instability. Thus the social environment American Indian migrants find is disrupted, especially when other groups dominate parts of Uptown and cause Indian migrants to move elsewhere, as happened in the case of Spanish-speaking American and Oriental in migration. American Indian migrant reluctance to accept and interact with other minorities, especially Appalachian Whites and Blacks, also functions to break up their social solidarity and contact. Consequently American Indian residency in Uptown that promotes interaction with other Indians may ease social adjustment to the American Indian community, but may hinder more complete adjustment to Chicago by encouraging a retreat into the Indian community that begins to approximate a disrupted "urban reservation."

The depressed employment and economic situation of Uptown restricts the probability of job success and encourages participation in the public welfare system. Unless migrants obtain employment Chicago represents a continuation of public assistance reliance similar to the reservation and reinforces the concept of an "urban reservation." Thus success in achieving social goals may be tainted and hinder adjustment by making Uptown approximate an "urban reservation," possibly the worse of two worlds.

The lesser emphasis on social concerns by non-Uptown residents facilitates their exposure to more of the urban area as well as more diverse activities and peoples, which contributes to a broader adjustment. Certainly this adjustment is not contingent on the rejection of American Indian beliefs, values, friends, etc., but instead rests on an increased understanding of and appreciation for the urban area and its people brought about by more frequent and diversified exposure to all aspects and elements of Chicago. The greater rate of employment among non-Uptown residents contributes to adjustment by enabling the attainment of a better standard of living which increases comfort in Chicago and permits participation in more and varied activities. Non-Uptown residents appear to be better adjusted to social, economic and physical aspects of Chicago and become part of a cosmopolitan environment while Uptown residents are isolated in one neighborhood that approximates an "urban reservation" and likely hinders adjustment. Thus while location of migrant activity in Uptown and social concerns can aid adjustment through social ties it apparently cannot be a sole facilitator for it.

Residential Stability

The Chicago American Indian population is fairly mobile, averaging .45 moves per year or 1 more every 2.2 years. There is a relationship between residential duration and location (Table 5). The most stable current residences, over 3 years, are four times as likely to be located outside of Uptown, while the least stable current residences are twice as likely to be located within Uptown. Thus residential stability is more often achieved by migrants located outside of Uptown.

No doubt the stability of the non-Uptown sample contributes to their ability to become acquainted with a constant lifestyle and adjust to many

TABLE 5

RESIDENTIAL LOCATION - DURATION COMPARISON

CURRENT RESIDENTIAL LOCATION

RESIDENTIAL DURATION (years)	WITHIN UPTOWN		OUTSIDE UPTOWN	
	N	%	N	%
0 - 1	30	79.0	6	37.5
1 - 2	4	10.5	2	12.5
2 - 3	0	——	1	6.3
3+	4	10.5	7	43.7
Totals	38	100.0	16	100.0

diverse aspects of Chicago. Frequent residential movement among Uptown migrants is disruptive and demands constant reorientation and adjustment to a similar set of activities at each residence: neighbors, schools, shopping area, etc. Consequently residential stability contributes to a broader adjustment to Chicago, while the absence of residential stability encourages adjustment to a select narrow set of activities while hindering a broader adjustment.

Conclusion

The particular location of American Indian migrants in Chicago appears to be a major factor related to their adjustment to Chicago. Most notably, migrants residing in Uptown restrict their spatial activity to the immediate neighborhood and orient their lifestyle to social concerns to achieve at best social adjustment, whereas migrants residing outside of Uptown have greater and more diverse exposure to the Chicago urban area as a result of extensive spatial experiences and achieve a broader adjustment. Furthermore migrants residing outside of Uptown are more likely to achieve residential stability which further facilitates adjustment. These findings indicate that migrant spatial behavior may influence or reflect adjustment and hence be a useful measure in subsequent studies of urban American Indian adjustment.

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THE AMERICAN INDIAN FAMILY IN LOS ANGELES:

A Comparison of Premigration Experience, Postmigration Residence and Employment Mobility, and Coping Strategies

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Abstract -

Los Angeles hosts the largest concentration of urban Indians in the United States. The majority of this population migrated to Los Angeles between 1950 and 1975. This paper examines certain pre- and postmigration variables of a sample of Navajo and Five Civilized Tribes families (the two most heavily represented culture groups in the city). Residential and employment mobility in the urban complex are compared. The development and the motivational forces behind the development of an identifiable Indian area of concentration are discussed. Economic and behavioral measures of adaptation are introduced and their relative construct validity is discussed.

I. INTRODUCTION

The 1970 U.S. Census places the number of Native Americans in Los Angeles County at 27,800, the largest urban Indian concentration in the United States. Long Beach, with 2.6, and the Bell-Bell Gardens-Cudahy area, with 2.8% of their respective populations Native American, are the two major areas of Indian residential concentration in the Los Angeles urban sprawl. Since the overall Indian population in Los Angeles County is .7%, the above figures contrast dramatically and suggest the formation of, if not an ethnic enclave, at least an ethnic concentration. We hope to demonstrate by an analysis of the residential mobility and interaction patterns of a selected group of Navajo and Five Civilized Tribes families in the Bell-Bell Gardens-Cudahy area that this residential section in southeastern Los Angeles County is a developing urban Indian concentration and can perhaps best be thought of as a functioning interactional community.

II. HISTORICAL AND ECONOMIC ANTECEDENTS OF NATIVE AMERICAN RURAL-TO-URBAN MIGRATION

There have always been Indians in Los Angeles. When the basin was first settled by Spanish missionaries in the 18th century their first work was to Christianize the Indians who inhabited the semi-desert area now called Los Angeles. The migration of Indians from out of the area into Los Angeles began

long before the post-World War II period we will examine in this paper. World War I, railroad construction work, and the depression of the 1930's were all instrumental in pushing or pulling increasing numbers of Indians off tribal lands and into the Los Angeles urban environment.

The period of greatest Indian migration to Los Angeles began during World War II. The significance of this latter day migration is not only its impact on the target cities and reservations in terms of exchange of absolute numbers of individuals, but also the fact that the migration was implemented and encouraged through federal legislation. It was a federal policy of planned social change. It is commonly called the BIA "Relocation Program".

Because of this conserted federal effort the Los Angeles Indian population doubled between 1950 and 1960. By 1966 a major anthropological field survey, conducted by Price then of the UCLA Dept. of Anthropology, identified 101 different tribes in Los Angeles. 80% of the Indians in Los Angeles were from out of state. Of this polytribal population certain tribes were over-represented. Price estimated that 14% of the Los Angeles Indian population were Navajo, 12% Sioux, and 6% Cherokee. Indians from the so-called "Five Civilized Tribes" of Oklahoma, the survey of 3,000 Indian families revealed, represented 20% of the Los Angeles Indian population. (Price 1968:170)

III. THE THEORETICAL MODEL

From a wealth of demographic data Price developed a typological model of Indian adaptation in Los Angeles.

> The three major tribal groups in the city of Navajo, Sioux, and Five Civilized Tribes represent a sequence of three degrees of adaptation to the city from the weak adaptation of the Navajos to the relatively full adaptation of the Five Civilized Tribes. (Our study indicates that Indians fresh from strongly rural or reservation backgrounds will tend to be like the Navajo and shift over time to patterns of life exemplified by the Five Civilized Tribes.) Also, as the Indian community in Los Angeles matures, we can expect tribal groups like the Navajo to shift toward tribal groups like the Five Civilized Tribes, which in turn, is culturally close to the general population of Los Angeles except for their particular ethnic identity. (Price 1966:2)

It is this model I hope to test by my continuing field investigation. For logistical reasons the middle group(the Sioux) have been omitted from this study. Findings on the groups at the hypothetical ends of the adaptation continuum - the Navajos and the Five Civilized Tribes will be presented. I must impress upon the reader that this paper is a progress report and its findings based on a partial sample. Final data analysis has not begun. I, therefore, apologize for the "primitive" descriptive statistics presented at this time.

IV. DESCRIPTION OF THE SAMPLE

The premigration descriptive statistics presented are based on a sample of 48 Navajo families and 40 Oklahoma families now living in Los Angeles. The data presented on residential assistance patterns and other selected postmigration variables will be based on a smaller sample of 21 Oklahoma families and 23 Navajo families. The sample was gathered by surveying a list of approximately 300 Indian families obtained from one of the several Indian-run self-help organizations in Los Angeles. The families were screened for eligibility for the study on the basis of age, tribal affiliation, degree of Indianness and educational level at entry. Those families asked to participate in the study were between the ages of 18 and 40 and had had no more than 14 years of schooling when they came to Los Angeles. One member of the family had to be at least half Navajo, Cherokee, Creek, Seminole, Choctaw or Chickasaw. The participating families were given a token gift of $5 for their cooperation.

1. The Oklahoma Sample

The majority of the 40 Five Civilized Tribes families have migrated to Los Angeles from the southeastern portion of Oklahoma. This land is the territory to which the Cherokee, Choctaw, Chickasaw, Creek, and Seminole were "removed" between 1830 and 1840. (See Map I. of the poster display.)

While 60% of the Oklahomans state that they grew up on farms, the farming done by these people was generally of the kitchen garden variety. Those Indians who worked as farm hands usually worked the bottom lands owned or leased by Anglos. Other occupations in this southern hill country consisted of work in saw mills, seasonal construction, light industry in the larger towns, trucking, and a variety of blue collar jobs available to semi-skilled workers if they migrated to Tulsa or Oklahoma City.

2. The Navajo Sample

The Navajo group have migrated chiefly from the eastern half of the Navajo reservation. (Forty-five of the 66 people (68%) for whom we have premigration data came from the eastern part of the reservation.)

The eastern portion of the Navajo reservation is the most densely populated and has traditionally been described in the ethnographic literature as the most "progressive" and least traditional section of the reservation. Population density, combined with relative lack of full-time employment and greater exposure to the modern conveniences of town and tribal council life in the agency towns (such as Chinle, Window Rock, Shiprock, and Gallup), may have been the "push" factors which make this area over-represented in the Los Angeles urban sample. The premigration residence pattern also suggests that this group of migrated Navajos may have been more acculturated than the Navajo families that remained on the reservation - a factor which may influence their coping behaviors in the new environment.

Another 7 Navajo families came from the border towns of Flagstaff, Winslow, and Holbrook, giving them extensive urban experience prior to the move to Los Angeles. When this group is added to the families that came from the more "progressive" East the percentage of families from more acculturated points of origin swells to 78.6% of the sample. (See Map II of the poster display.)

When asked, "Did you grow up on a farm, in town or in a city?", a majority of the Navajos would look at me incredulously and state simply, "We grew up out on reservation." (69.6% of the women and 55% of the men). One has to visit the Navajo reservation to truly appreciate the latent content in that statement. "Out on reservation" usually means that sisters and aunties have their two to six frame houses or hogans situated within 1/4 mile or so of each other - the classic matrilocal settlement pattern. The next nearest neighbor can be anywhere from one to twenty-five miles away.

The land is open, sparsely spotted with sage and greasewood, minimally watered. The flocks of sheep, goats, horses, and cattle are marginally supported by this food niche. It is a precarious existence on a desolately beautiful land.

An indication of the differences in initial settlement patterns and isolation between the Oklahomans and the Navajos are illustrated by the following tables:

TABLE I: Premigration residence patterns

Culture Group	Out on Reservation	Farm	Small Settlement	Small Town	Small City	Large City
Oklahoma women (n=20)	-	15 (75%)	2 (10%)	2 (10%)	1 (5%)	-
Navajo women (n=23)	16 (69.6%)	-	4 (17.4%)	3 (13%)	-	-
Oklahoma men (n=19)	1 (5.3%)	9 (47.4%)	-	5 (26.3%)	2 (10.5%)	2 (10.5%)
Navajo men (n=20)	11 (55%)	2 (10%)	1 (5%)	3 (15%)	2 (10%)	1 (5%)

75% of the Oklahoma women have grown up on farms. No Oklahoma woman ever spent most of her life in an urban environment. The Oklahoma men have had a more varied pre-Los Angeles residential experience. Only 47.4% of the sample grew up on farms while more than half of the men spent most of their lives either in small towns or cities.

The Navajo women overwhelmingly grew up "out on reservation" (69.6%). The Navajo men, like the Oklahoma men, exhibit a more varied premigration residential pattern. In both culture groups, the men have lived in more urbanized environments before the move to Los Angeles.

To elicit an approximation of the relative population density of the respective points of origin, we asked the question, "How close were your nearest neighbors back home?". Both the Oklahoma men and women indicated that the nearest neighbors were, on an average, 1/2 mile away. As for the Navajo group, however, the nearest neighbors were, on an average, 2 1/2 to 3 miles away. (See Table II below.) It is hypothesized that these wide differences in initial use of residential space may contribute to differences in perceived comfort and adaptability to the crowded urban environments. This issue, however, will not be discussed in this paper.

TABLE II: Premigration Population Density (Distance from nearest neighbor)

Culture group		Mean miles	Standard deviation
Oklahoma women	n=18	.57	.94
Oklahoma men	n=16	.57	.80
Navajo women	n=23	2.43	5.06
Navajo men	n=20	3.07	6.62

In order to compare typical or traditional patterns of interaction prior to migration with the social interactional patterns established in the urban environment we asked the question, "When you were back home were your friends: only other Indians, mostly other Indians, mixed, mostly non-Indians, or exclusively non-Indians?" Again, the Navajo group appears to have a more isolated, traditional interactional pattern when compared with the more integrated social interactional patterns of the Oklahoma group. While over 70% of the Oklahoma group either associated mostly with Indians or had a mixed social group, 56.5% of the Navajo group associated only with other Navajos. (See Table III below.)

TABLE III: Premigration Interactional Patterns

Culture Group	Only Indians	Mostly Indians	Mixed	Mostly non-Indians	Only non-Indians
Oklahoma (n-21)	2 (9.5%)	9 (42.9%)	6 (28.6%)	3 (41.3%)	1 (4.7%)
Navajo (n=23)	13 (56.5%)	7 (30.4%)	3 (13.1%)	-	-

Further support for the hypothesis that Navajos tend to have been more isolated and traditional than the Oklahoma group is the measure of urban experience prior to the move to Los Angeles. We asked them how long they lived in each city. Those figures were summed and a mean for each culture group obtained. Again the women have had less urban experience than the men while the Oklahoma men have had almost two more years of pre-Los Angeles urban experience than have the Navajo men. (See Table IV.)

TABLE IV: Previous urban experience

Culture group		Mean years	Standard deviation
Oklahoma women	n=20	4.53	5.40
Oklahoma men	n=17	6.92	8.43
Navajo women	n=23	4.08	5.93
Navajo men	n=21	5.17	7.40

SUMMARY: Two patterns have emerged. First, on all four measures the women tend to have less urban experience than their male counterparts. Second, the Oklahoma group, on all four measures of preparedness for urban life, score higher than the Navajo group.

Several other premigration variables also point out some differences and similarities of these two culture groups. In the interest of time and space I will summarize these findings rather than present tables for all five variables.

1. Age at Entry. The Oklahoma group tends to have been older at entry (a mean of 27.74 years for the women and 27.84 for the men as contrasted with 20.47 for the Navajo women and 22.74 for the Navajo men). The Navajos tend to come to Los Angeles almost directly after graduation from boarding schools or separation from the armed services, while the Oklahomans seem to have come to the city at a later stage in their life cycle - young marrieds with beginning families.

2. Level of Education at Entry. The Oklahoma group tends to have had more education initially than the Navajo sample. The mean years of education before coming to Los Angeles were 12.33 for the Oklahoma women, 12.18 for the Oklahoma men, only 10.7 years for the Navajo women and 11.2 years for the Navajo men.

3. Marital Status at Entry. This pattern, too, seems to support my hypothesis that the Oklahomans have migrated to Los Angeles at a later phase in the life cycle. 67.5% of the Oklahoma sample was married at time of arrival, while 62.5% of the Navajo group was single.

4. Relocation versus Independent Migration. No Oklahoma woman came alone to Los Angeles on the Relocation Program. Only one Oklahoma woman was placed by Haskill Institute. Most Oklahoma women came with their husbands who entered the Relocation Program to find jobs(45.7%), or who came independent of any federal assistance programs to find jobs.

The Navajo have taken much more advantage of the vocational training assistance program introduced several years after the inception of the Relocation Program. 23% of the Navajo women and 19.5% of the Navajo men came to the city on a BIA subsidy to go to school. Only 8% of the Navajo women came for jobs, while 29% of the Navajo men were assisted by the BIA Job Relocation Program. It is important to

note, however, that the majority of the Navajos, like the Oklahomans, came unassisted to Los Angeles initially (61% of the women and 52% of the men).

5. Reason for Migration. 60% of both the Navajo and Oklahoma samples stated they came to Los Angeles in search of better working conditions. 10% of the Navajos came to go to school. 27.5% of the Oklahoma groups and 23% of the Navajos gave idiosyncratic answers to the question, "What made you decide to come to Los Angeles to live?" (e.g. "to check out the city," "to get away from a bad marriage," "to gain independence," etc.). Clearly the moves have been responses to overwhelming economic pressures back home coupled with the promise of available work in the urban industrial complex. The ability to find gainful employment in the city, then, can be supported as an intrinsic measure of ability to manipulate the novel environment.

SUMMARY: These data, too, tend to support the hypothesis that the Oklahomans come to the urban environment better equipped to cope with the complexity of city life. They were older, better educated, and hypothetically more stable (married with young families) when they came. It is hypothesized that these initial differences have shapped the kinds of strategies used and the success in coping with the demands of urban life which these two culture groups exhibit. Because 60% of both groups came for economic reasons while the other reasons for migration are randomized for both groups we have matched samples in terms of motivation for migration.

V. THE RELOCATION PROCESS

If the decision was made to enlist the services of the BIA job or vocational training assistance in migrating, the family usually started by contacting the BIA agency closest to their home town. The agent would explain the program to the families and offer them a choice of relocation or target cities. Once the destination was decided upon, the necessary steps were taken to uproot the family, provide bus transportation to the destination, and forward all necessary papers

to the BIA field office in the recipient city.This was usually handled by the home BIA agency.

The relocatees' first stop in Los Angeles was usually the downtown Greyhound bus terminal. Before leaving home, the Indians were given a packet of instructions and the address of the BIA offices in downtown Los Angeles. Gathering their families and belongings the family trekked either by bus, cab, or on foot the 10 blocks or so to the Federal Building on Los Angeles Street. There the families waited while their "cases" were processed.They were given what can only be described as a cursory account of was to be expected in urban life by a BIA relocation counselor.

In the first ten years of the Relocation Program the BIA had contracts with some of the older residential hotels in the downtown area. The BIA counselor would usually drive the newly arrived families the few blocks to one of the hotels and help them get settled into the small one or two-room apartment reserved for them. The families usually spent the first one or two months in these quarters.

If the arrivees came to Los Angeles looking for work, their second day in the city was spent making the rounds of potential employers. The BIA counselor usually gave the relocatee a couple of addresses and some money for cab fare or the bus. The husband usually went out on the job search alone with only the briefest explanation on how to conduct oneself on a job interview. The searches usually took place in either the industrial complex south and east of the downtown area or the complex of aircraft plants in the Culver City-Inglewood section of west Los Angeles.

When the relocatee found work, the next task of the BIA counselor was to help the family find housing within easy walking or busing distance to work. This often meant a search for housing around the outskirts of the Vernon-Commerce or downtown Los Angeles industrial parks. This residential area encompasses the incorporated cities of Bell, Bell Gardens, Maywood, Cudahy, Commerce, and Huntington Park; the area designated as the southeastern Los Angeles area of Indian concentration.

Once housing was acquired, the BIA counselor would take the family on a round of food and clothing stores in the immediate area. The BIA also gave the families lists of the various Indian-run services in the city as well as the addresses of public county health clinics, hospitals, police and fire departments, and local schools. The program also provided funds for clothing, furniture, and food allotments. These stipends, the families in the sample report, were not indescriminately dispersed. If the families had taken the time to carefully read the Relocation brochures and were assertive enough to demand their full complement of support, they would get these supplementary stipends. Many families in the sample, however, feel that full disclosure was not practiced and that they had, in fact, been kept ignorant of their full rights under the program.

Once all of these activities were completed, the working family was on its own. Under the terms of the Relocation Program the BIA had fulfilled its obligation. The BIA was no longer responsible for that "urbanized" Indian family.

If the relocatee had come to the city to go to school, he or she, in addition to the above services, would also be provided with free medical services, a monthly living stipend, and a place to live within walking distance of the school for the duration of their school program.

If the migrant family came on its own, the process of re-establishing their lives in the new environment, for the most part, took on the characteristics of the classic urban migration pattern found throughout the world in nations which have been rapidly urbanizing since World War II. The migrating families usually knew someone (either kin or friends from boarding school) who were already in the city and who would put them up for a short period, show them around the city, and sometimes even help them find jobs, lodging, and financial loans for the initial entry period. These initial contacts were quite often already living in this study's area of Indian concentration.

VI. RESIDENCE PATTERNS AND INTRAURBAN MOBILITY

A. INITIAL URBAN RESIDENCE PATTERNS

The maps of the initial residence patterns of the Navajo and Oklahoma families in Los Angeles illustrate certain similarities and differences in initial entry points for the two groups. 33.3% of the Navajo group and 30% of the Oklahomans lived in the downtown area initially. Slightly more Oklahomans settled immediately in the area of concentration (Oklahomans - 42.5%, Navajos - 29%). An unexpected number of Navajo women first lived in the Beverly Hills, North Hollywood, Burbank, and Pasadena areas (29% of the Navajo sample). This anomalous residence pattern is due to the fact that Sherman Institute and Intermountain Boarding School used to place young Navajo women as domestics in the homes of wealthy film industry executives directly after graduation. (Please refer to Maps 3 and 4 of the poster display.)

B. INITIAL RESIDENCE VERSUS PRESENT RESIDENCE IN LOS ANGELES

Maps 5 and 6 of the poster display reveal a distinct pattern of movement within the Los Angeles urban complex in the years since the families first came. The general direction of the residential movement has been out of the Central City-Downtown area and into the area of Indian concentration. 64.7% of all Navajos who initially lived in the Central City area are presently residing within the area of Indian concentration; 69.2% of all Oklahomans who initially lived Downtown now live in the area of concentration; 75% of the Navajos who originally moved into the North Hollywood, Burbank,Pasadena, Beverly Hills areas now live in the area of concentration. 93.3% of the Navajos who initially moved to the area of concentration still continue to live there, while 82.4% of the Oklahomans who initially came to live there still do so.

It is apparent from this dramatic illustration of mobility within the urban environment that the area of concentration has had, since the mid-50's, a substantial

Indian population which, for reasons which will discussed, has been steadily growing and to which substantial numbers of families are drawn once they are situated in Los Angeles. I suggest that these residential mobility patterns support the claim that this area is a developing ethnic concentration. Given that several Indian-run self-help organizations, all-Indian churches, sports facilities, and educational programs are located within the area of concentration, I am willing to suggest that this area is not only a residential concentration but also a functional interactional community of urban Indians.

C. IMPETUS FOR CHANGE

Map 7 of the poster display shows that the ethnic concentration skirts the southeastern perimeter of the largest industrial park in Los Angeles. Since it was the BIA's policy to place families in homes close to their original work area, one might make the facile assumption that the concentration of families in this area is a continuing response to the need for easy access to employment. An analysis of the proximity of present job and residence locations supports this hypothesis only weakly.

26.9% of the families living in the area of concentration work in the Vernon-Commerce,Central City industrial parks, while 67.4% of the people who are now employed live in the concentration. 49.9% of those employed, however, do live within 4 miles of their present place of employment. The Oklahomans tend to settle closer to their place of employment than do the Navajos. (36.8% of the Oklahomans who live in the concentration work in the Vernon-Commerce, Central City parks, while 63.2% of the Oklahomans live within 4 miles of their work area.)

In order to discern the possible sophisticating effects of the urban environment on residence choice we asked two questions: "Why did you pick this neighborhood?" and "Why did you pick this present home?". In most cases movement into the area

preceded the move to the present residence. If time in the city has the acculturative effect Price theorizes it does, then the motivation for a change in residence ought to also change over time. When asked why they originally picked the area in which they now live, both Oklahomans and Navajos offered a wide variety of answers. At that time the Navajos seemed to be the most concerned with finding a residence close to work. 32% of the Navajos offered this as their rationale, while only 13.3% of the Oklahomans mentioned proximity to work as the motivating force in residence choice. The proportion of Oklahoma and Navajo families who stated they picked the area because of some attractive feature (either of the house or neighborhood) is almost identical (16.6% and 17.9%, respectively). The strongest motivation to move into the present neighborhood for the Oklahomans seems to have been the desire to live close to relatives already situated in that neighborhood. (20% of the Oklahoma sample gave this as the reason for originally moving into their present neighborhood.)

The reasons given for movement into their present home, however, shift dramatically. Nearness to relatives and work no longer seem to be important issues for either group. Instead, attractiveness and size of the present home play more dominant roles in the decision-making process for the Oklahomans. 30.8% of the Oklahoma families stated they picked their present home because of some attractive feature of the place. 19.2% of the Oklahomans said that their latest move was prompted by a growing family and the need for more space.

The Navajos state the case even more clearly. 17.2% of the sample stated they needed a larger place, while another 17.2% of the sample stated with some resignation that their present landlords were the first people they found who would allow three or more children in their apartments. The combination of large families and modest incomes, it would seem, has limited the range of choices for the Navajos. I see this limiting of choices as a function of the families' life cycle phase rather than as a culturally conditioned response to an environment.

It is important to note that proximity to work played a diminishing role in the choice of the present residence for both the Navajo and the Oklahoma families. Only 11.5% of the Oklahoma group and 6.9% of the Navajos gave this as the reason for choosing their present homes. (See Table V below.)

SUMMARY: The fact that more families may now be able to afford a more expensive rental, can acquire a mortgage loan, or can afford the luxury of choice of home on the basis of aesthetic appeal may be a measure of growing sophistication in dealing with the urban environment (acculturation). However, as I stated earlier, the confounding factor of life cycle phase and the decisions which are made as a response to phenomenological family needs must be taken into account before we can begin to make the assertion that these data can be used as a valid measure of acculturation.

TABLE V: Motivational Force in Choosing Present Residence

Culture Group	Attractiveness	Size	Near Work	Children Accepted	Cost	Close to schools, church
Oklahomans (n=26)	8 (30.8%)	5 (19.2%)	3 (11.5%)	2 (7.7%)	2 (7.7%)	4 (15.3%)
Navajos (n=29)	3 (10.3%)	5 (17.2%)	2 (6.9%)	5 (17.2%)	3 (10.3%)	4 (13.8%)

VII: RURAL-TO-URBAN MIGRATION AND ECONOMIC MOBILITY

A. Job Mobility

For the last 15 years urban anthropologists have been trying to come to grips with the terms acculturation, adjustment, and adaptation. One of the most powerful measures of relative success in adapting to an urban environment has been job mobility and relative earning capacity. This would seem to be a fair measure of this sample's ability to deal with the urban environment since 60% of the sample

indicated better working conditions were the factors which brought them to Los Angeles.

In an attempt to work with these variables I have taken the last job held by each of the 44 people in the small sample and compared it with their present type of employment. The paired comparison was cored "+" if the present job appeared higher on the Hollingshead occupational scale, "=" if the present job was approximately equivalent to the former job, and "-" if the present job is ranked lower on the Hollingshead scale than the job last held before migration or if the person is not presently employed. (Hollingshead 1957: 36-41)

50% of the Oklahoma men presently hold jobs which are higher ranked than their last job in Oklahoma. However, 43.8% of them have slipped further down the job status scale. The majority of the downwardly mobile positions are the result of unemployment due to injury or the vagaries of the economy. One man, a skilled sheet metal worker who earned over $5 an hour ~~five years~~ ago, because of a work shortage layoff and the pressures of providing for his wife and 10 children, was forced to take the first job that was offered. Because of the family's marginal existence he simply could not afford the luxury of taking the time to look for work in his field. For years now he has worked in maintenance at 70% of his former earnings simply because he did not have the resources neccesary to re-enter his more lucrative field. I mention this individual case because I would, again, like to stress the importance of considering the complexity of forces at work in shaping the lives and behaviors of the migrated families in the urban environment. In attempting to analyze a certain group's relative ability to cope, we must be aware of the total psycho-social framework in which the coping behavior occurs - individual family circumstances, cultural backgrounds, and the superstructural forces of the society's economic and political machinations before

before we can attempt to make statements about a culture group's relative ability to cope with a novel environment. This family's relative inability to improve their financial situation has more to do with the economic superstructure of the nation (over supply of skilled labor and lack of demand for those skills) and the personal choice to have a large family rather than the fact that the family is Choctaw.

In contrast to the Oklahoma men, the Navajo men seem to be faring better in the city. 70.6% of the Navajo men are presently working at jobs which are higher status positions. 17.6% have jobs which are essentially comparable in status to their last job on the reservation. Only 11.8% of the Navajo men have slipped downward in job status. The two men who make up the 11.8% of the sample are both presently unemployed. In both cases unemployment had alcoholism-related antecedents.

Basically the Navajo and Oklahoma men have gone from unskilled or semi-skilled seasonal or sporadic labor to, on the whole, steady work as semi-skilled or skilled wage earners.

In scoring the relative status of the womens' present work situations, I tried to avoid my ethnocentric bias about the intrinsic "goodness" of work and attempted to score their positions as they perceived them. If a woman was no longer working but indicated that her husband's income was sufficient support for the family, I scored her position as a "plus." Also, if a woman had not worked before or had worked at a menial task and was now in school receiving vocational training, I also scored that situation a "plus."

When scored in this way, 68.2% of the Navajo women presently hold higher status positions. One person holds essentially the same kind of position now as she had on the reservation. 27.3% have slipped. The slippage represents the difference between menial (waitress or domestic) jobs before Los Angeles and

no jobs now with no man in the family with an income or a husband whose take home pay had consistently been augmented by her second income and is insufficient to cover their present expenses.

The Oklahoma women, by contrast, seem to be doing better in the area of employment than are their Navajo counterparts. 76.2% have improved their job status. 11.9% have remained the same, and only 11.9% are presently lower ranked.

Women's jobs "back home" characteristically were the lowest on the Hollingshead scales. (Housework, waitressing, cafeteria work, nurses aide, laundry work, and some light factory work wer the jobs mentioned.) The women have now moved into the higher paying clerical, assembly line, keypunching, data processing, and sewing jobs available to skilled workers in the city. Several women have moved into managerial or teaching positions in Indian-run organizations. Two women, because of their highly developed skills as an R.N. and a personnel manager, command five figure salaries in Anglo-run institutions. These women are both from Oklahoma.

B. Earning Capacity

A second concrete measure of relative economic well being in the urban environment is a comparison of previous and present earning capacities. When we compare the figures in the table below it is obvious that the move to the city has resulted in a dramatic rise in gross earning capacity.

TABLE VII: A Comparison of Previous and Current Earning Capacity

Culture Group	Previous Income (mean hourly wage)	Current Income (mean hourly wage)
Oklahoma women (n=12)	$1.94	(n=12) $3.72
Navajo women (n=18)	$1.69	(n=9) $3.20
Oklahoma men (n=14)	$2.52	(n=12) $5.94
Navajo men (n=8)	$2.61	(n=16) $5.24

In every category the income capacity has just about or more than doubled. Rise in income level is most dramatic for the Oklahoma men. As is expected in our economically male-dominated society, the women's incomes are 40% lower than their male counterparts before they came to Los Angeles. Except for two conspicuous exceptions, they remain 40% lower than male incomes to the present time.

If a family has one member who earns an average of $5.94 an hour and who works steadily, it places them at the mean national income level for 1970. If a family has a man who is earning that amount and a wife who, on an average, earns $3.72 an hour, they are making it financially in Los Angeles. On closer inspection, however, this picture of economic security becomes less optimistic. It must be remembered that the Navajo group came to Los Angeles an average of 10 years ago and the Oklahoma group 12 years ago. Given the length of time in the city, the inflationary leaps the economy has taken in those years, and the relatively higher costs of urban life in comparison to the free community services on the reservation, the purchasing power of the doubled incomes becomes diluted.

VIII. ASSISTANCE PATTERNS, COPING MECHANISMS, AND MEASURES OF ACCULTURATION

In a final note about cultural ecology I would like to share with you my thoughts on coping behaviors as a measure of acculturation in novel environments. I hope to use such a measure as a means by which cultural differentiation in dealing with urban environments can be analyzed. The value of this measure for me is that it is grounded in actual, reportable behavior - it is empirically based.

During our intensive three-hour interviews we elicit the families' record of movement into the city and the mechanisms by which they re-established their lives in the city. Approximately 40 times during the interview they are asked who they went to for help when they needed to locate housing, work, schools, doctors, etc. We have gathered information about these people who helped the

migrant families re-establish their lives in the city along three dimensions: type of assister, ethnicity of the assister, and the distance the assister was removed from the participant's residence. A review of the urbanization literature has revealed that each of these dimensions has theoretical significance and will be explored in my later work. I will present data on only the dimension of type of assister at this time.

From our pilot study in 1973 we learned that assisters can be categorized into six types. The initial contact for many Indian families was either the BIA counselor or relatives already living in the city. A third type of assister was a friend, neighbor, or work mate. Indian-run services are a fourth type of assistance. Self-help("we just went out and looked around and found out for ourselves.") was mentioned often enough to warrant it being considered a fifth type of coping behavior. Newspapers, ads, television announcements, radio, or organized service institutions available to the general public are lumped together into the sixth type of assister category. Wirth (1938) would have labeled these secondary and tertiary assistance relationships.

I am suggesting, and hope the data support, these six categories are steps along a continuum of most-to-least traditional forms of coping strategies. I suggest that shifts in assistance patterns, over time, may be the most powerful measure of the "sophisticating" effect of the urban environment on culturally determined coping behaviors. I will use one final table to illustrate this point. The table below charts the frequency distribution of answers to the questions, "Who helped you find the first place you lived in in Los Angeles?" and "How did you go about locating your present home?"

TABLE VIII: First Home Assister and Present Home Assister

1st Home Assister	BIA	Kin	Friend	Indian run	Self Help	Newspaper Ads, TV, etc.
Oklahoma families (n=21)	10 (47.6%)	8 (38%)	1 (4.6%)	-	1 (4.6%)	1 (4.6%)
Navajo families (n=23)	9 (39%)	7 (30.4%)	4 (17.4%)	-	1 (4.4%)	2 (8.7%)
Present Home Assister						
Oklahoma families (n=21)	-	5 (23.7%)	3 (14.3%)	-	7 (33.3%)	6 (28.6%)
Navajo families	1 (4.4%)	3 (14.3%)	4 (17.4%)	-	11 (47.8%)	5 (21.7%)

Initially almost half of the Oklahoma sample made use of the BIA services in locating their first home in Los Angeles. 38% of the Oklahomans had kin already living in Los Angeles who assisted them in locating a place to live. Only three of the Oklahoma families used assisters who were not from the BIA or kin.

The Navajos exhibited essentially the same initial assistance pattern. The differences were that 17.4% had friends who gave them assistance and three of them acted independently or used secondary assisters as aids in locating housing. This pattern indicates an early propensity of the Navajos to use more independent coping strategies in the city. This independence is dramatically borne out by the Navajos' later residence assistance pattern.

When the Oklahoma families went looking for their present home they no longer depended on BIA assistance. There is less dependence on kin, more reliance upon friends, and a dramatic shift to self-help and the use of secondary and tertiary level assisters.

The Navajo shift is even more impressive. 47.8% of the Navajos found their present home simply by knowing where available apartments were and going there on their own to search them out. 21.7% of the Navajos used secondary level assisters to find their present homes.

The movement from left to right on my construct - the assistance continuum - is obvious. Equally apparent is the total lack of use of Indian-run social services in the city as housing assisters. These services, as will be examined in my later work, serve other socio-emotional needs of the community and have, as yet, supplied only minimal or highly specialized social services to their community.

It is appropriate at this point to talk about the validity of this construct. Are we measuring the sophisticating effect of the urban environment on coping behaviors? Or are we, in fact, simply documenting differences in cultural preference for alternative coping strategies which do not change over time or in response to a novel environment? The dramatic increase in self-help in locating the present home, particularly in the case of the Navajo, may not necessarily be a demonstration of sophistication in coping behaviors. In fact, when left to their own devices (no more BIA assistance), the Navajo may have reverted to a traditional Navajo coping strategy of stoic self reliance.

It is now necessary for me to once more return to the literature for a description of traditional Navajo assistance patterns. I suspect, after preliminary analysis of these coping behaviors, that the assistance continuum may not be a scale of "modernity" so much as it is a means by which one can measure the persistency of cultural modes of strategic behaviors in the urban environment.

Supportive of the worth of this continuum as a measure of "modernity" is the fact that both the Oklahoma and Navajo groups moved, over time, in the same direction along the scale. The inordinate jump in self-help among the Navajos, however, makes me cautious about enthusiastically claiming this scale as a valid

measure of "modernity" rather than the more modest claim that it is a nominal scale of cultural preference in coping strategies. I feel that analysis of the responses in the 39 other assistance situations will provide the needed supporting evidence for the research problem I have just presented.

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III. RESOURCES

NATIONAL ARCHIVES AND RECORDS SERVICE RESOURCES FOR THE STUDY OF NATIVE AMERICANS

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Current geographical perspectives concerning Native Americans cannot be fully understood unless the historical forces which were instrumental in shaping the geographical patterns are examined. A major component in the development of these patterns during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries was the role played by numerous agencies of the Federal Government. This role, which was not always praiseworthy, lead to policies which advocated removal, confinement, extermination, exploitation, and acculturation. Since the National Archives and Records Service is the official repository of the noncurrent records of the various agencies of the Federal Government, the records in its custody can be a major resource for the geographical study of Native Americans.

The purpose of this paper is to provide an introduction for geographers to the various resources that are available in the National Archives and Records Service for the study of Native Americans. Since it would be impossible to identify only those series of records which are geographical in nature or which answer specific geographical problems, this paper will attempt only to identify the major records which pertain to Native Americans in general and to provide an annotated bibliography of the pertinent published finding aids. From this introduction the interested researcher can hopefully select the appropriate publications and records that will pertain to his area of interest.

In understanding the arrangement of records in the National Archives, the concept of provenance is fundamental. Records are filed and arranged according to their origin and the order in which they were created. The basic unit of organization is the "record group" which corresponds to the records of an individual agency, bureau, or commission. The records of each agency are assigned a number (i.e. the records of the Bureau of Indian Affairs

are Record Group 75). The Archives of the United States is currently composed of over 400 record groups which are maintained in the National Archives Building in Washington, D.C., eleven Regional Archives Branches which are located in the Federal Records Centers, and six Presidential Libraries. However, the bulk of the records discussed in this paper are located in the National Archives Building.

These records are administered by various divisions and branches within the National Archives and Records Service organization. Textual records (correspondence, reports, journals, etc.) for the civilian agencies are assigned to the Civil Archives Division which is divided into four branches---the Natural Resources Branch (primarily the records of the Interior and Agricultural Departments), the Industrial and Social Branch (Commerce; Health, Education, and Welfare; Labor; Post Office; and Transportation Departments), the Diplomatic Branch (State Department), and the Legislative, Judicial, and Fiscal Branch (Legislative and Judicial Branches and the Justice and Treasury Departments in the Executive Branch). Similarly the textual records of the military agencies are administered by the Military Archives Division. Certain records from both the Civil and Military Archives Divisions have been transferred to the General Archives Division which is located in the Washington Federal Records Center, Suitland, Maryland. Cartographic records (maps, graphs, aerial photographs, and engineering drawings) and audiovisual records (still pictures, motion pictures, and sound recordings) from all record groups are maintained separately by the Cartographic and the Audiovisual Archives Divisions which are located in the National Archives Building. Other records which are described in this paper are in the Center for Polar Archives (in the National

Archives Building) and eight of the eleven Regional Archives Branches.

To facilitate the use of these records the National Archives and Records Service prepares a variety of publications for the researcher's use. The most comprehensive publication is the guide which describes all the record groups in the National Archives and Records Service or all the record groups pertaining to a particular subject. A preliminary inventory (PI) provides a series description of all the records in one record group. A special list (SL) provides a detailed description of selected or related series in one or several record groups. Reference Information Papers (RIP), which are usually topically or subject oriented, are directed toward the academic community. In order to make actual documents readily accessible, the National Archives and Records Service has been engaged in an ambitious microfilm program since 1948.

The following annotated bibliography is a guide to the major record groups and published finding aids which pertain to Native Americans. The bibliography is organized according to the administrative divisions which are described above. Most of these records pertain to the American Indian in the continental United States and cover the period from ca. 1775-1950. There are several entries which describe materials for the study of the Alaskan Indian and Eskimo; however, references to the native Hawaiian are rather scanty.

All the publications which are listed below were published in Washington, D.C. by the General Services Administration, National Archives and Records Service, unless otherwise indicated. These publications are available free of charge from the Publication Sales Branch. Priced publications which include Guide to the National Archives, microfilm publications, and conference proceedings are indicated, and appropriate ordering instructions are included.

I. General.

A. Comprehensive Guides.

Guide to the National Archives of the United States. 1974. This basic guide provides a general description to all the record groups in the National Archives. The entries are arranged by branch of government, department, and agency. The entries for each record group list pertinent preliminary inventories, special lists, and microfilm publications. Government Printing Office, $12.30.

Guide to Records Relating to American Indians in the National Archives of the United States. Comp. by Edward E. Hill (presently in the editing stages). This guide will incorporate the reference papers which were drafted for the National Archives Conference on Research in the History of Indian-White Relations, 1972. These papers, which are listed below as "preliminary drafts", will be superceded by this guide. Since a limited number of reference papers were prepared for the conference, they are not readily accessible. Until the guide is published, requests for Xerox copies of the reference papers should be directed to the appropriate custodial divisions.

Litton, Gaston. "The Resources of the National Archives for the Study of the American Indian," Ethnohistory, Vol. 2, no. 3 (Summer 1955), 191-208. A good introduction which describes the types of records that are available and the types of information the researcher can expect to obtain from these records.

B. Microfilm Publications.

Catalog of National Archives Microfilm Publications. 1974. The catalog lists by record group the microfilm publications that are available. Forms and instructions for ordering are included.

The American Indian: Select Catalog of National Archives Microfilm Publications. 1972. This is a list of microfilm publications which relate both directly and indirectly to Indian affairs from nine record groups. The list includes a description of individual rolls as well as brief abstracts of the history of the agency that created the records and the type, scope and organization of the records. Order forms and instructions are included; however, the prices are outdated since each roll currently costs $12.00.

C. Conference Papers. In 1967 the National Archives instituted a series of conferences to acquaint scholars with the wealth of materials in its custody and to provide a forum for the discussion of issues and problems relevant to both scholars and archivists. The papers presented at these conferences are currently being published.

Pattern and Process: Research in Historical Geography. Edited by Ralph E. Ehrenberg. Washington, D.C.: Howard University Press, 1975 ($15.00). This volume contains copies of the papers presented at the Conference on the National Archives and Research in Historical Geography, November 8-9, 1971. Although there were no papers specifically related to Native Americans, Ehrenberg compiled "Appendix A: Bibliography to Resources on Historical Geography in the National Archives," which contains a section on Native Americans.

Indian-White Relations: A Persistent Paradox. Edited by Jane Smith and Robert Kvasnicka. Washington, D.C.: Howard University Press, forthcoming Spring 1976. This volume will contain the papers presented at the National Archives Conference on Research in the History of Indian-White Relations, 1972.

II. Civil Archives Division.

A. General. Although the records of the Bureau of Indian Affairs (RG 75) are the primary source for the study of the Federal Government's relations with the American Indian, there are numerous record groups maintained by the four branches of the Civil Archives Division which pertain to Indian affairs. The first item is an unpublished paper which describes these records, while the following publications describe selected records pertaining to Indian affairs which are located in more than one record group.

"Guide to Records in the Civil Archives Division Pertaining to Indian-White Relations." Comp. by Richard C. Crawford and Charles E. South. Preliminary draft prepared for the National Archives Conference on Research in the History of Indian-White Relations, 1972.

SL 6. List of Documents Concerning the Negotiation of Ratified Indian Treaties, 1801-1869. Comp. by John H. Martin (1949). This list describes documentary materials in the records of the Office of the Secretary of Interior (RG 48) and the records of the Bureau of Indian Affairs (RG 75) that pertain to the negotiation of Indian treaties.

RIP 61. Vital Statistics in the National Archives Relating to the American Indian. By Carmelita S. Ryan (1973). Originally prepared as a preliminary draft for the Conference on the National Archives and Statistical Research, May 1968, this paper discusses census-related records in the records of the Bureau of Indian Affairs (RG 75) and the records of the Bureau of the Census (RG 29).

B. Natural Resources Branch.

1. RG 75. Records of the Bureau of Indian Affairs. The Bureau of Indian Affairs, which conducts the business of the Federal Government relating to the American Indians, was established in 1824 in the War Department and in 1849 the bureau was transferred to the newly-created Interior Department. Before 1824 the administration of Indian affairs was under the direct supervision of the Secretary of War. These extensive records reflect the changing policies of the U.S. Government in relation to the American Indians throughout the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

PI 163. Preliminary Inventory of the Records of the Bureau of Indian Affairs (2 vols.), Comp. by Edward E. Hill (1965).

Microfilm Publications. Numerous series of records from this record group have been microfilmed. For a complete list see The American Indian, described above.

See also RIP 61 and SL 6 (listed under Civil Archives Division-General).

2. RG 48. Records of the Office of the Secretary of the Interior. These records reflect the secretary's supervisory role in Indian affairs. Pertinent records are found chiefly among those of the Indian Division, Indian Territory Division, and the Appointment Division. There is no comprehensive published inventory for this record group.

SL 18. Index to Appropriation Ledgers in the Records of the Office of the Secretary of the Interior, Division of Finance, 1853-1923. Comp. by Catherine Rowland (1963). This index to ledgers, which tabulate all funds appropriated by Congress to be expended in the Department of Interior, contains numerous references to Indians and related subjects as well as to individual tribes.

Microfilm Publication M606. Letters Sent by the Indian Division of the Office of the Secretary of the Interior, 1849-1903 (1965). 127 rolls.

3. RG 49. Records of the Bureau of Land Management. Includes the records of the former General Land Office which was responsible for the administration of public lands. These records provide information concerning Indian lands in relation to the public domain. There is no comprehensive published inventory for this record group.

4. RG 126. Records of the Office of Territories. In 1873 the supervision and coordination of territorial affairs were transferred from the Secretary of State to the Secretary of Interior. The

territorial affairs were directly supervised by the Secretary of Interior until 1934 when the Division of Territories and Island Possessions was established. This division was superceded by the Office of Territories in 1950. The records pertaining to Alaska contain numerous materials relating to Alaskan Indians and Eskimos. There are also records pertaining to the territories of Arizona, New Mexico, and Oklahoma.

PI 154. Preliminary Inventory of the Records of the Office of Territories. Comp. by Richard S. Maxwell and Evans Walker (1963).

5. Other Indian materials are available in the records of the Works Projects Administration (RG 69), the National Park Service (RG 79), the Forest Service (RG 95), the Farmers Home Administration (RG 96), the Soil Conservation Service (RG 114), the Bureau of Reclamation (RG 115), the Public Works Administration (RG 135), the Natural Resources Planning Board (RG 187), and the Indian Claims Commission (RG 279).

C. Industrial and Social Branch.

1. RG 29. Records of the Bureau of the Census. The manuscript census schedules with which most historical researchers are already familiar, can also be useful for research on Native Americans, since Indians living with Whites were enumerated separately beginning in 1860. Other census records of particular interest are the special censuses which were begun in 1880 and which were designed to enumerate reservation Indians.

PI 161. Preliminary Inventory of the Records of the Bureau of the Census. Comp. by Katherine H. Davidson and Charlotte M. Ashby (1964). An inventory of the bureau's records including the administrative records as well as manuscript census schedules.

Federal Population Censuses, 1790-1890: A Catalog of Microfilm Copies of the Schedules. (1975). The census schedules have been made highly accessible through microfilm publications. This catalog lists the available microfilm by census year, state, and county. Ordering instructions and order forms are included.

SL 24. Federal Population and Mortality Census Schedules, 1790-1890, in the National Archives and the States: Outline of a Lecture on Their Availability, Content and Use. Comp. by W. Neil Franklin (1971). Besides discussing the content and use of the census schedules, this publication is extremely valuable since it provides a list of libraries which have copies of portions of census schedules.

RIP 67. Federal Census Schedules, 1850-80: Primary Sources for Historical Research. By Carmen R. Delle Donne (1973). This paper was prepared originally for the Conference on the National Archives and Research in Historical Geography, November 8-9, 1971.

See also RIP 61 (listed under Civil Archives Division-General).

2. Additional Indian-related materials are found among the records of the Public Health Service (RG 90), the Coast and Geodetic Survey (RG 23), the War Relocation Authority (RG 210), and the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare (RG 235).

D. Diplomatic Branch.

1. RG 11. General Records of the United States Government. Includes originals of most ratified Indian treaties, 1778-1868.

PI 159. Preliminary Inventory of United States Government Documents Having General Legal Effect. Comp. by Ralph E. Huss (1964).

Microfilm Publication M688. Ratified Indian Treaties, 1722-1869. Includes copies of treaties and related papers in RG 11.

Other records pertaining to Indian treaties are in RG's 46, 48, and 75. See SL 6 (listed under Civil Archives Division-General).

2. RG 59. General Records of the Department of State. From 1789 to 1873, the Department of State had the responsibility of supervising affairs in the U.S. territories. Among the Territorial Papers of the Department of State are records pertaining to Indian affairs. Selected papers are included in the publication, Territorial Papers of the United States, while many of these records have also been microfilmed (see The American Indian for complete list).

PI 157. Preliminary Inventory of the General Records of the Department of State. Comp. by Daniel T. Goggin and H. Stephen Helton (1963).

General Information Leaflet No. 12. The Territorial Papers of the United States. This leaflet explains the nature and scope of this publication project.

3. RG 360. Records of the Continental Congress and the Constitutional Convention. Includes records pertaining to Indians during the pre-Federal period. There is no published inventory for this record group, but some of the records have been published (see Guide to the National Archives for list of publications).

"Records Pertaining to Indians in the Records of the Continental and Confederation Congresses and the Constitutional Convention: A Preliminary Guide." Comp. by Howard H. Wehman. Preliminary draft prepared for the National Archives Conference on Research in the History of Indian-White Relations, 1972.

E. Legislative, Judicial, and Fiscal Branch.

1. Legislation and committee reports pertaining to Indian affairs are found among the records of the U.S. Senate (RG 46) and the U.S. House of Representatives (RG 233). The Senate records also contain materials relating to the negotiation of Indian treaties.

PI 23, Preliminary Inventory of the Records of the U.S. Senate. Comp. by Harold E. Hufford and Watson G. Caudill (1950).

PI 113. Preliminary Inventory of the Records of the U.S. House of Representatives, 1789-1946 (2 vols.). Comp. by Buford Rowland, Handy B. Fant, and Harold Hufford (1959).

2. The U.S. Court of Claims was established in 1855 to review claims against the U.S., including claims of and against Indians. The Court of Claims Section of the Department of Justice and its predecessors represented the Federal Government in the U.S. Court of Claims. Of specific interest are the records of Indian depredation cases (1891-1918).

PI 58. Preliminary Inventory of the Records of the United States Court of Claims. Comp. by Gaiselle Kerner (1953).

PI 47. Preliminary Inventory of the Records of the Court of Claims Section of the Department of Justice. Comp. by Gaiselle Kerner and Ira N. Kellogg, Jr. (1952).

III. Military Archives Division.

A. General. Before 1824 the Secretary of War had immediate responsibility for Indian affairs, and from 1824-1849, supervisory control over the Office of Indian Affairs. Many of the records from this period have been transferred to RG 75 and are described in PI 163. However, there are still numerous records pertaining to the administration of Indian affairs, as well as to military activities regarding Indians in various record groups in this division. The basic guide for these various record groups is the following unpublished paper.

"Guide to Records in the Military Archives Division Pertaining to Indian-White Relations." Comp. by Marie Bouknight, Robert Gruber, Maida Loescher, Richard Myers, and Geraldine Phillips. Preliminary draft prepared for the National Archives Conference on Research in the History of Indian-White Relations, 1972. This paper describes Indian-related materials in fifteen record groups including the two major collections, RG 94 and RG 393.

B. RG 94. Records of the Adjutant General's Office. This office served as the administrative and recordkeeping agency of the War Department.

PI 17. Preliminary Inventory of the Records of the Adjutant General's Office. Comp. by Lucille H. Pendall and Elizabeth Bethel (1949).

C. RG 393. Records of United States Army Continental Commands, 1821-1920. Many of the individual commands were involved in significant Indian problems.

PI 172. Preliminary Inventory of the Records of United States Army Continental Commands, 1821-1920. (4 vols.). Comp. by Elaine Everly, Alice Haynes, Maize Johnson, Sarah Powell, Harry Swartz, John Scroggins, Aloha South, and Evelyn Wade (1973).

IV. Audiovisual Archives Division.

A. General. Still pictures, motion pictures, and sound recordings are the three basic types of records maintained by this division. There is no published, comprehensive guide to the records in this division; however, the following unpublished papers, which may be obtained from the division, provide a general description of pertinent records for individual record groups. The first three items are preliminary drafts of papers prepared for the National Archives Conference on the Use of Audiovisual Archives as Original Source Materials, 1972.

"Motion Pictures in the Audiovisual Archives Division of the National Archives." Comp. by Mayfield S. Bray and William T. Murphy.

"Sound Recordings in the Audiovisual Archives Division of the National Archives." Comp. by Mayfield S. Bray and Leslie C. Waffen.

"Still Pictures in the Audiovisual Archives Division of the National Archives." Comp. by Mayfield S. Bray.

"Audiovisual Records Relating to Indians in the National Archives." Comp. by Joe Doan Thomas. Preliminary draft prepared for the National Archives Conference on Research in the History of Indian-White Relations, 1972.

B. Select Audiovisual Records. Several topical lists of individual photographs which were selected from various record groups have been prepared by the Audiovisual Archives Division.

Indians in the United States: Select Audiovisual Records. 1974.

Pictures of the American West, 1848-1912: Select Audiovisual Records. 1974.

V. Cartographic Archives Division.

A. General.

Guide to Cartographic Records in the National Archives. 1971. The Government Printing Office originally sold this publication for $3.25; it is currently out of print. This comprehensive guide to the records in the Cartographic Archives Division accessioned before 1966 provides a general description by record group and series.

RIP 71. Cartographic Records in the National Archives of the United States Relating to American Indians. Comp. by Laura E. Kelsay (1974). Originally prepared as a preliminary draft for the Conference on the National Archives and Research in Historical Geography, 1971, this publication describes cartographic records in several significant series which pertain to "explorations in the Indian country and locations of Indian tribes, the settlement of Indians on reservations and their loss of land, and population, transportation and industry on the reservations."

SL 25. Aerial Photography in the National Archives. Comp. by Charles E. Taylor and Richard E. Spurr (1973). Lists aerial photography taken between 1935 and 1942 by five Federal agencies. This photography covers about 85% of the continental United States including several projects of specific Indian reservations.

SL 23. Cartographic Records Relating to the Territory of Wisconsin, 1836-1848. Comp. by Laura E. Kelsay and Charlotte M. Ashby (1970). Describes maps from six record groups which pertain to Wisconsin's territorial period. This includes maps from the records of the Bureau of Indian Affairs, as well as other maps which show the location of various tribes.

SL 27. Cartographic Records Relating to the Territory of Iowa, 1838-1846. Comp. by Laura E. Kelsay and Frederick W. Pernell (1971). Describes maps from seven record groups which pertain to the Iowa territorial period, including Indian-related items.

B. RG 75. Records of the Bureau of Indian Affairs. Contains the primary collection of cartographic records pertaining to Indian affairs. Included are maps which show the location of Indians, the cession of land, the establishment of reservations, the platting and allotment of land within the reservations, and the subsequent improvements of the reservation in terms of forestry, grazing, irrigation, industry, roads, railroads, and pipelines.

SL 13. List of Cartographic Records of the Bureau of Indian Affairs. Comp. by Laura E. Kelsay (1954). This publication describes maps from two major series, the Central Map File and the Irrigation Division. The entries are arranged alphabetically by state and reservation. A revised edition of this list, which describes all the series from the

records of the Bureau of Indian Affairs presently in the custody of the Cartographic Archives Division, has been prepared by Kelsay and will be published soon.

C. RG 49. Records of the Bureau of Land Management. The primary records of interest are those related to the surveys of Indian lands including maps and field notes from the surveys of reservation boundaries, as well as township plats of lands within reservations and within areas ceded by Indians.

SL 19. List of Cartographic Records of the General Land Office. Comp. by Laura E. Kelsay (1964). This is not a comprehensive list since only four major series are described. Although there are selected references to Indian-related maps in this list, many of the Indian materials are not described.

D. RG 48. Records of the Office of the Secretary of the Interior. The following publication describes the cartographic records in this record group. Although there are only a few entries pertaining to Indians, there are numerous maps, particularly among the records of the Pacific Railroad Surveys, which show the location of Indian tribes or bands.

PI 81. Cartographic Records of the Office of the Secretary of the Interior. Comp. by Laura E. Kelsay (1955).

E. RG 29. Records of the Bureau of the Census. Included in the cartographic records are county maps (ca. 1900-1950) and verbal census enumeration district descriptions (1850-1950). The maps show Indian reservations, and usually the descriptions indicate Indian reservation population beginning in 1900.

PI 103. Cartographic Records of the Bureau of the Census. Comp. by James B. Rhoads and Charlotte M. Ashby (1958).

F. RG 114. Records of the Soil Conservation Service. In 1935 the Project for Technical Cooperation with the Bureau of Indian Affairs was established within the Soil Conservation Service. The project conducted physical and economic surveys of Indian lands in the West. Among the cartographic records which were prepared for these reports are maps which show land classification, soils, erosion, alkali, agromomy, ground water levels, forage types, woodlands, and engineering control facilities. A preliminary inventory to the cartographic records of the Soil Conservation Service is being prepared by William Heynen.

G. Other. The Headquarters Map File from the records of the Office of the Chief of Engineers (RG 77) is a major nineteenth century map collection which contains many Indian-related maps. The most significant items are the maps pertaining to geographical explorations which show the location of various tribes and maps pertaining to military campaigns against the Indians. There is no published finding aid for this map collection. Other maps which relate to Indian activities are scattered

in various record groups, particularly those which correspond to the significant textual series described for the Civil, Military, and General Archives Divisions.

VI. General Archives Division.

A. General. This division administers records that were formerly in the National Archives Building but are now housed in the Washington Federal Records Center in Suitland, Maryland, a suburb of Washington, D.C. In some cases entire record groups were transferred and in other cases, only selected series. The Indian-related records are described in the following unpublished paper.

"Records in the General Archives Division Relating to American Indians." Comp. by Edward E. Hill. Preliminary draft prepared for the National Archives Conference on Research in the History of Indian-White Relations, 1972. This paper describes records in fifteen record groups including the two mentioned below.

B. RG 49. Records of the Bureau of Land Management. The series of records known as the "land entry papers" contains information which pertains to specific Indian scrip and individual Indian allotments, as well as the disposal of lands in areas ceded by Indians.

PI 22. Preliminary Inventory of the Land-Entry Papers of the General Land Office. Comp. by Harry P. Yoshpe and Philip P. Brower (1949).

C. RG 217. Records of the United States General Accounting Office. Indian fiscal agents' accounts contain reports prepared for the Justice Department in processing claims before the U.S. Courts of Claims. These reports are essentially histories of the financial relations between the U.S. and Indian tribes. There is no published inventory for these records; however, one is being prepared.

VII. Center for Polar Archives.

A. General. The center, which was established in 1967 under the directorship of a noted historical geographer, Herman R. Friis, administers selected records of the Federal Government which pertain to the exploration of the polar regions of the World, as well as private papers donated by individuals who were also involved in polar exploration. The records which pertain to explorations in the Arctic region include materials which relate to the Eskimo. The center distributes reprints of the following article as a guide to their holdings.

Wilson, Alison. "The Center for Polar Archives, Washington, D.C.," Polar Records, Vol. 16, No. 103 (1973), 541-52.

VIII. Regional Archives Branches.

A. General. The basic function of the eleven Regional Archives Branches which are located in the Federal Records Centers is to administer U.S. Government records which were maintained by field offices of Federal agencies and are primarily useful for documenting regional and local activities. These branches have also begun to acquire copies of many of NARS microfilm publications. The addresses of the eleven regional branches are listed in the following leaflet.

General Information Leaflet 22. Regional Branches of the National Archives (Revised 1975).

B. RG 75. Records of the Bureau of Indian Affairs. Records of the field agencies of the Bureau of Indian Affairs are located in eight of the eleven regional branches. However, records of some of the discontinued superintendencies, agencies, and schools are among the records in the National Archives Building; these records are described in PI 163. The records in the regional centers are described in the following unpublished paper and preliminary inventories.

"Guide to Records in the Bureau of Indian Affairs in the Archives Branches of the Federal Records Centers." Comp. by the Staffs of the Archives Branches. Preliminary draft for the National Archives Conference on Research in the History of Indian-White Relations, 1972.

FRC, Denver. Archives Branch. Preliminary Inventory of the Records of the Mescalero Indian Agency. Comp. by Robert Svenningsen. Denver, 1971.

FRC, Kansas City. Archives Branch. Preliminary Inventory of the Records of the Potawatomi Indian Agency, Bureau of Indian Affairs. Comp. by Harry Svanda. Kansas City, 1965.

_____. Preliminary Inventory of the Records of the Winnebago Indian Agency, Bureau of Indian Affairs. By Harry Svanda. Kansas City, 1965.

FRC, San Francisco. Archives Branch. Preliminary Inventory of the Records of the Bureau of Indian Affairs, Northern California and Nevada Agencies. Comp. by Thomas W. Wadlow and Arthur R. Abel. San Francisco, 1966.

FRC, Seattle. Archives Branch. Preliminary Inventory of the Records of the Bureau of Indian Affairs, Northern Cheyenne Indian Agency. Comp. by Elmer W. Lindgard. Seattle, 1969.

_____. Preliminary Inventory of the Records of the Bureau of Indian Affairs, Warm Springs Agency Records, 1861-1925. Comp. by Elmer W. Lindgard. Seattle, 1968.

MATERIAL OF GEOGRAPHIC IMPORT IN THE NATIONAL ANTHROPOLOGICAL ARCHIVES

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The Smithsonian Institution's National Anthropological Archives traces its history back to 1879, when John Wesley Powell established the Bureau of American Ethnology "to organize anthropologic research in America." By law the BAE acquired manuscripts relating to Indians which had been held by the Smithsonian and Powell's Geographical and Geological Survey of the Rocky Mountain Region. To these have been added material collected by the staff and collaborators of the BAE and the Smithsonian's Department of Anthropology. In 1968, after the merger of the BAE with the department, the archives acquired its present name, began actively to collect material from researchers and organizations outside the Smithsonian, and expanded its anthropological focus from North America to the whole world. More recently, the archives has accessioned the records of the Association of American Geographers and adopted the policy of accepting material of primarily geographic interest.

The holdings of the archives measure around 3700 cubic feet. Included are correspondence, field notes, published and unpublished manuscripts, diaries, photographs, drawings, sound recordings, and cartographic material. The bulk is dated between 1850 and the present and concerns over 200 Indian tribes, the Aleuts, and the Eskimos. The anthropological coverage is broad, embracing archeology, linguistics, physical anthropology, and various branches of ethnology.

Insofar as anthropology and geography share an interest in man's relationship to the land, much of the archives' material is of potential interest to geographers concerned with Native Americans, particularly their past. Much of it will be of use primarily to advanced students and professional scholars. Such is its breadth, however, that many items may be of interest to younger students.

Manuscripts

The archives holds an undated manuscript by John R. Swanton in which he expressed concern that anthropologists of his day tended to treat Indian society and culture as if they existed in a vacuum. Swanton urged the preparation of maps to show features of the land significant to Indian life. He had already begun a card file to gather pertinent data about old trade routes and fairs, sources of raw materials, and hunting and fishing grounds. The project, which was intended to encompass the whole of North America, became too great, however, and he was forced to abandon it. The file is preserved today in the archives and stands as an example of a potential use of its manuscripts.

The collection of manuscripts amounts to over 3000 cubic feet, most of which grew directly out of anthropological research. In addition to Swanton's, there are documents of such persons as Franz Boas, Frank H. Cushing, Frances Densmore, James O. Dorsey, Alice C. Fletcher, George Gibbs, John P. Harrington, Weston La Barre, W J McGee, C. Hart Merriam, James Mooney, JohnWesley Powell, Matilda Coxe Stevenson, and William Duncan Strong. Most of the older accessions are controlled through a card catalog; the more recent through inventories, registers, or various types of lists.

Many of the manuscripts of possible interest to geographers are easily identified. Included among them are many that concern Indian place names. Examples are Lewis Henry Morgan's list of names for geographical features in the Chippewa, Cree, Blackfoot, Crow, Dakota, Choctaw, and Kansa languages; Thomas T. Waterman's list of Tlingit place names for southeastern Alaska; and Albert S. Gatschet's list of Micmac and Passamaquoddy names used by white setters. Closely related are vocabularies that include generic terms for types of geographical features. A Paiute vocabulary collected by Powell, for example, shows fine distinctions for varying forms of the same kind of feature. Most of these manuscripts provide English equivalents for names or terms or locations of the places. Some include drawings. The considerable problem of linguistic orthography may be somewhat simplified by the use by some authors of the system explained in Powell's Introduction to the Study of Indian Languages, 1877 and 1880.

Similarly, there are easily identified documents relating to the use of natural resources. Included among these are such items as Swanton's notes on Chitimacha dyes and tanning; Stevenson's notes on plants used by the people of Santa Clara, San Ildefonso, and Zuni pueblos; Mooney's notes on Cheyenne dyes and plants; and Jesse Walter Fewkes' letter on the use of Cholla by the Yaqui. There are also a few collections of ethnobotonical specimens which have been identified by the collectors or by Smithsonian botanists.

One of the outstanding documents concerning the size of the pre-Columbian population of the continent is Mooney's notes for his "Aboriginal Population of America North of Mexico," in Smithsonian Miscellaneous Collections, Volume 80, Number 7, 1928. Although quite

difficult to decipher, these notes have been used by several researchers wishing to re-examine Mooney's pioneer work. Examples of other manuscripts relating to aboriginal population figures include Steven Powers' notes for California and Mooney's and Alfred L. Kroeber's comments on C. Hart Merriam's figures for the same state. More recent data are included in Gibbs' manuscript on the Indian population of Vancouver Island in 1856 and another concerning estimates for the Indian population of Washington Territory in 1854, Gatschet's compilation of census data for Mission Indians of California between 1769 and 1834, Cushing's census of Zuni in 1881-82, and William H. Dall's population figures for Eskimo and Aleut communities in 1875. The archives also has a copy of James W. Terrell's census of North Carolina Cherokees in 1860. In addition, there are also many copies and abstracts from documents that are probably in other repositories and from published sources.

Pertinent data is also found in many more general manuscripts and collections. The use of these would require considerable patience in sifting through relatively large amounts of material. An example is the papers of the linguist John P. Harrington, which measure approximately 200 cubic feet. Mostly they concern Indians of the American and Canadian west coasts and the American Southwest, although there are materials on all areas of the United States. The bulk is dated between 1911 and 1954. The Wintun, Yokuts, and Pomo portions include vocabulary items for local geographic features and places with occasional notes concerning past flora and fauna, local historical importance, and other special significance. Incidental notes about localities, individuals, or groups may contain references to past land holdings, boundaries between tribal groups, and relations between members of different groups.

The collection includes similar information for several other tribes.

J. O. Dorsey's notes on the history of Siouan tribes includes locations of villages, migration routes, and population figures. Powell's unpublished "Life and Culture of the Utes," includes brief notes relating to crops, patterns of nomadism, trails, transportation, house types, relations with surrounding tribes, and the Ute's ideas about the shape and limits of the world. Powers' "Life and Culture of the Washoe Indians" includes considerations of the origins of the Washo, materials and sites of their houses, and food production. Other similar materials and mythological texts may be useful in determining patterns of thought that reflect or shape the Indian's relationship to his environment.

More current data is included in the records of the National Congress of American Indians. A lobbying organization based in Washington, D. C., the NCAI has not only kept touch with its member tribes concerning many economic and social problems but has also developed its own programs along these lines. Its records cover the the period between 1944 and 1972. During the earlier years, its primary concern was problems relating to land holdings; in more recent years, its focus has shifted towards industrialization and other aspects of economic modernization.

Archeological documents in the archives are abundant. Many of them concern two large-scale Smithsonian projects--the BAE's mound surveys of the 1880s and 1890s and the River Basin Surveys of the 1940s-60s. In addition, there are reports from sponsors of state archeological programs of the Work Projects Administration during

1935-42 and reports filed for archeological work carried out on federal land in accordance with the Act for the Preservation of American Antiquities of 1906. A sampling of this material shows considerable unevenness. All provide site locations and often define the type of site involved. Some reports provide such information as dates of occupation, population estimates, relationship with other sites or historical groups, and laboratory reports on specimens. A great many are purely excavation reports with locations and general descriptions of sites, explanations of scientific activities, and brief descriptions and placement of site features and specimens. Generally, such reports have been prepared before any laboratory work has been completed.

Certain manuscripts relating to antiquities are of more apparent usefulness to non-archeologists. The archives has considerable material relating to William E. Myer's study of Indian trails in the southeast. William B. Marye's collection of materials relating to Indian bridges in Maryland, Virginia, and nearby states may also be used with relative ease.

Cartographic materials

Maps, plans, and related items generally pertain to the work of Smithsonian anthropologists, collaborators, and private donors to the archives. They number over a thousand items, many of which are sketches or printed maps that bear annotations relating to Indians. Loose control is provided by the catalog of manuscripts. Control sheets for individual items or groups of materials are being prepared..

Two major efforts in cartography were undertaken by the BAE. Charles C. Royce's delineation of Indian land cessions, published in

the Eighteenth Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology, 1899, is generally regarded as authoritative. The process of compilation, however, is all but undocumented. The archives has only one map of cessions in Indiana that differs somewhat from the published version, a few letters in the BAE correspondence files, and lists of books borrowed from the Library of Congress. The compilation of Powell's several versions of a map of linguistic families in America north of Mexico is documented by a few draft maps and, in a sense, by many of the early linguistic manuscripts.

A great amount of the collection relates to archeological work. Perhaps the most broadly useful of these are maps showing the locations of archeological sites. An especially good example is William M. Beauchamp's 1889 map of ancient sites in the Huron and Iroquois districts of New York. Accompanying it are a list of sites by county with notes on their nature and drawings and plans of many of them. Other representative items are an undated map by Cushing that shows shell mounds in Johns County, Florida; "Village sites, shell heaps, shops, and camps of Maryland visited and examined by W. H. Love from 1828 to 1894"; and H. L. Reynolds' map of sites in Iowa made during the 1880s. Many items also relate to individual sites.

Maps relating to ethnological and historical studies vary considerably in content. Examples are Mooney's locations of tribes of the Great Plains in 1832 and his locations of nineteenth century Indian battles in the northern Great Plains, McGee's routes in his expeditions through Seriland at the turn of the century, and Harrington's annotation of a plan of Ventura Mission. Others are Strong's manuscript "Indian Sketch Map of Northeastern Labrador," 1928; Gatschet's sketch

map of the Klamath country in 1890; Boas's outline of linguistic groups on the Northwest Coast; and Waterman's 1922 maps of Tlingit and Haida villages. For historical studies, Swanton and others also collected copies of such maps as "Bowles's New One-sheet Map of America," 1784; G. Thompson's "America," 1799; and a 1742 manuscript map of the southeastern United States as it appeared in 1670.

The archives also has a few maps drawn by Native Americans. These include Jonathan Williams' 1891 map of the Nez Perce country, for which Alice C. Fletcher prepared an explanatory text; Simpson Tubby's map of the river systems of the Choctaw Nation drawn for Swanton around 1921; and a map of the site of the Battle of the Little Bighorn that was drawn by Indians of the Cheyenne River Agency. There is also a set of maps drawn around 1883-84 by Baffin Island Eskimos that were collected by Boas.

Pictorial materials

Perhaps the documents in the archives with widest appeal are its many photographs, drawings, and other pictorial materials. This collection represents work of ethnologists, BAE staff photographers, commercial photographers, missionaries, soldiers, and others. Some of the drawings are by professional artists; others are by Native Americans. Many of the 80,000 items are controlled individually through a card catalog. Taken as a whole, the coverage of subjects is very broad, but the types of subjects vary greatly from tribe to tribe. Generally, for all the tribes represented--approximately 200 of them--there are images of individuals and groups showing physical types. For many, there are photographs showing house types, native dress, and characteristics and features of the land. There are

relatively few photographs of artifacts as such, for these are generally handled by the Department of Anthropology's Processing Laboratory.

The pictorial material for the Eskimos is a good example of the broad coverage for certain tribes. There are approximately a thousand items, dated roughly between 1870 and 1960. Although pictures of Labrador and Greenland Eskimos are included, most are of Alaskan natives. Photographers represented include William Dinwiddie, Edward W. Nelson, Henry B. Collins, Francis Harper, Ales Hrdlicka, Lucien M. Turner, and the commercial firm of Winter and Pond. In addition, there are a number of drawings by Eskimo and white artists. Chief among these is a series by the Eskimo Guy Kakarook executed around 1895. There is also a series of photographs of drawings by Florence Nupok done around 1927-28. Subjects include native dress, house types and camps, food preparation, methods of transportation, hunting for geese and caribou, fishing by trips and seines, and aspects of the fur industry. The drawings by Nupok show many of the softer and more intimate aspects of Eskimo life inside the home.

Other particularly well-represented tribes include the Chippewa, the Seminoles of Florida, and the Pueblos. The subject content for each is rather similar to that for the Eskimos. In addition, the Chippewa photographs include a series by Frances Densmore, who was interested in the uses of plants by this tribe. Some illustrate the harvest and preparation of wild rice. The photographs of the Seminoles of Florida include considerable material of the 1940s-60s by Ethel Cutler Freeman, a research associate of the American Museum of Natural History, and by William Boehmer, an employee of the Bureau of

Indian Affairs. The photographs of the Pueblo Indians reflect the BAE's early interest in them. Many by John K. Hillers and Matilda Coxe Stevenson show the several villages and activities within them.

Special mention should be made of certain sets of drawings. Many by members of plains tribes show their strong interest in hunting and warfare. Outstanding are the pictographic autobiographies by Sitting Bull and the especially artistic drawings by the Cheyenne warrior Making Medicine. The archives also includes excellent copies by Charles Praetorius of John White's 1577-78 drawings of Indian of Virginia and the Carolinas. Also included are drawings dated 1853-62 by Gustavus Sohon while he served in the army and, later, when he was with Governor Isaac Stevens' explorations of the Northwest and drawings by Heinrich B. Mollhausen when he was a member of Prince Paul of Wurtemburg's expedition to the Rocky Mountains in 1851.

Use of the archives

The archives is open to all persons who are interested in serious research. It is usually advisable to inquire about the availability of materials well in advance of a visit. The address is the National Anthropological Archives, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D. C. 20560.

Inquiries by correspondence can be handled provided requests are sufficiently specific. Copies of lists of photographs and catalog cards are furnished gratis or for a small fee. Certain large unpublished finding aids can be borrowed for short periods of time. Researchers may also wish to consult the Catalog of Manuscripts at the National Anthropological Archives, G. K. Hall and Company, 1975, and Herman J. Viola's microfiche publication North American Indians, University of

Chicago Press, 1974, which includes around 5000 images. Photographic and electrostatic reproductions are furnished at a nominal charge. Fees are charged for the publication of photographic materials, but these may be reduced or waived for non-profit efforts. Educational discounts are available.

CENSUS DATA AND NATIVE AMERICANS

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The Bureau of the Census has collected and published substantial amounts of statistical information on Native Americans in the 115 years since the first Census question on this population group sought to identify merely those Indians subject to Federal taxation. Since 1860, the Bureau has become more comprehensive in its approach to enumerating Native Americans -- expanding and redefining concepts and the population covered, improving enumeration procedures, etc. It is important that those persons seeking to use data on Native Americans from the 1860 through the 1970 census know not only the specific data sources, but the changes that have taken place in data collection procedures and definitions over the period.

Race Concept and Definitions

According to the definition used for this conference, the term "Native Americans" includes American Indians, Aleuts, Eskimos, and Hawaiians.[1/] In the decennial censuses, American Indians, Aleuts, Eskimos, and Hawaiians are identified as racial groups. In the 1970 census, racial data were derived from responses to a question on color or race asked of all persons

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1/ The term Native American also is used synonymously with American Indian. This definition is used by the Census Bureau.

enumerated in the census. (See question below.) In Alaska, "Aleut" and "Eskimo" were substituted for the categories "Hawaiian" and "Korean" on the questionnaire.

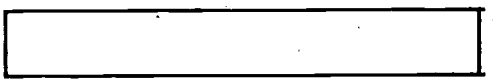
COLOR OR RACE

Fill one circle.

If "Indian (American)," also give tribe.

If "Other," also give race.

O White	O Japanese	O Aleut
O Negro or Black	O Chinese	O Eskimo
	O Filipino	O Other - Print race →
O Indian (Amer.) Print tribe →		



The concept of race as used by the Bureau does not denote any scientific definition of biological stock. Rather, it reflects self-identification by respondents.

In the last decennial census, as in the 1960 census, information on race was obtained largely through self-enumeration; i.e., respondents had the opportunity to classify themselves with respect to race. Persons who reported American Indian were asked to give their tribe. In those cases where the respondent failed to provide an entry in the race item, the information was obtained by telephone interview or from the enumerator's observation in a personal visit. For persons of mixed parentage who

were in doubt as to their racial classification, the race of the person's father was used. (For further information on 1970 census procedures, see U.S. Department of Commerce, 1970 Census of Population and Housing, Procedural History, PHC(R)-1A.)

Evaluations of 1970 and 1960 census results have definitely shown that self-enumeration has resulted in a more accurate identification of the Native American groups and produced larger counts, especially for Indians. Prior to 1960, the determination of race in the census had been made primarily by the enumerator on the basis of observation. In those censuses, enumerators may not have correctly identified the Indians living off reservations. Since self-enumeration has improved the statistics, this procedure will be continued in 1980, and tentative plans are to include a race question on the 1980 census questionnaire similar to that used in 1970.

American Indians

American Indians, the largest component of the Native American population, were first enumerated as a separate group in the 1860 census. However, no enumeration was made of Indians in Indian territory or on reservations until 1890. Special enumeration of the Indian population was made in the 1910, 1930, and 1950 censuses; i.e., supplementary questions on tribes and ancestry were asked of all Indians living on reservations.

In the 1970 census, the "American Indian" category included persons who reported themselves as American Indian or who did not indicate a specific race category but reported the name of an Indian tribe.

The size of the Indian population from census to census has been affected, in part, by such factors as enumeration procedures (self-enumeration versus enumerator's observation) and by the differing methods used for classifying persons as Indians (see table 1). In 1970, persons of mixed Indian and white or black ancestry were asked to self-identify. In cases of doubt, the race of the father was to be used. In the 1960 census, persons of mixed Indian and black descent were included as Indians only if the Indian ancestry predominated or if they were regarded as Indians in the community.

In the 1950 census, persons of mixed Indian descent were included in the category "All other races." The increase in the Indian population for the 1950-60 decade reflects, in part, the change in classification -- for example, in 1960, there was an unusual increase in the number of Indians in several Southern States, particularly in North Carolina, where there is a heavy concentration of persons of mixed races.

In censuses prior to 1950, persons of mixed Indian and Negro or white descent were variously classified as Indian or Negro.

In the censuses of 1910 and 1930, a special effort was made to include all persons of mixed Indian and white descent as Indian. The results of each of these two censuses show a substantial increase in the Indian population over the preceding census. (See table 1.)

Aleuts and Eskimos

Census information on Aleuts and Eskimos has been collected and published only for the State of Alaska. The 1970 census categories "Aleut" and "Eskimo" include persons who indicated their race as such.

The decennial census of 1880 was the first in which the population of Alaska was enumerated by the Bureau and data have been collected separately on Indians in Alaska since the 1910 census. Prior to the 1940 census, Eskimos and Aleuts were included within the racial category "Indian." Since the 1940 census, the racial categories have been expanded on the census questionnaire for Alaska to show Eskimos and Aleuts separately.

Hawaiians

Data on Hawaiians were collected and published for all States except Alaska in 1970. Persons who reported Hawaiian or part-Hawaiian on the race item were classified as Hawaiian.

The census of 1900 was the first one in which the population of Hawaii was enumerated by the United States. Prior to the 1970 census, Hawaiians, and part-Hawaiians were identified as separate groups only in Hawaii. Due to changes in the rules for classifying persons of racially mixed parentage and the elimination of the category "part-Hawaiian," racial statistics in 1970 for Hawaii are not strictly comparable with those from earlier censuses. In 1960, when the category "part-Hawaiian" was last used, the category included mixtures of Hawaiian and any other race.

Data Products

Information on American Indians, Aleuts, Eskimos, and Hawaiians are available from numerous reports as well as from other data products of the 1970 Census of Population and Housing. The Data Access Descriptions Report No. 40, Data on Selected Racial Groups, is a guide to the types of 1970 census data available on the racial groups, including Native Americans, in the printed reports, on computer tape, and from special tabulations. Information is also included on how to order the census products.

A separate Volume II Subject Report of the 1970 census, American Indians, PC(2)-1F, is the most comprehensive source of information available on this group from the 1970 census. Information is presented for the United States, regions, and selected States, standard metropolitan statistical areas (SMSA's), Indian tribes, and reservations. The report covers such topics as population distribution, age, family composition, marital status,

school enrollment, educational attainment, employment and labor force status, occupation, income, low-income status (poverty), and housing. The introduction to the report includes a tribal classification list based upon historic data, geographic location, and linguistic stock. Statistics on the American Indian population are also found in various other Volume II Subject Reports of the 1970 Census of Population.

The 1970 census Volume II Subject Report, Housing of Selected Racial Groups, HC(7)-9, presents data for American Indians cross-classified by various housing and household characteristics. These data are shown for the United States, regions, and by inside and outside standard metropolitan statistical areas.

A magazine-style pamphlet entitled We, The First Americans, was published in 1973 as part of an educational series prepared by the Bureau. This pamphlet includes an easy-to-read text, and graphs, charts, and illustrations designed especially for students.

Number of American Indians by Counties in the United States: 1970 is a map prepared by the Bureau which enables one to obtain an immediate visual view of the concentrations of Indians.

In addition to the published reports on American Indians from the 1970 census, the Bureau has unpublished tabulations on this group, which are available to the public at the cost of reproduction. Information in the format of tables in the previously mentioned American Indian report is available for States, reservations, standard metropolitan statistical areas, and

selected places and counties.

Extensive data on the Aleut and Eskimo populations of Alaska are published in the 1970 census Supplementary Report Native Population of Alaska by Race: 1970, PC(S1)-64. This report presents detailed social and economic statistics for the American Indian, Eskimo, and Aleut populations for Alaska, and selected census divisions and places within the State. The 1970 census Subject Report Japanese, Chinese, and Filipinos in the United States, PC(2)-1G, contains statistics on the social and economic characteristics of Hawaiians in the United States (excluding Alaska) and selected States and SMSA's.

Some information on Native Americans from the 1970 census, primarily population counts, are available for smaller geographic areas from the 1970 census summary tapes. These tapes can be obtained for the cost of reproduction. In cases where the need for data on Native Americans, tabulated by certain subjects or geographic detail, is not met by the 1970 census printed reports or unpublished tabulations, special tabulations can be undertaken on a cost reimbursable basis. These tabulations can be furnished on tape or computer printout form. (For further information see DAD No. 40.)

Information from the 1960 census on American Indians, Eskimos and Aleuts in Alaska, and Hawaiians and part-Hawaiians in Hawaii is available from the 1960 Census of Population report Nonwhite Population by Race, PC(2)-1C. Information is also included on

the American Indian population in similar reports for 1950 and 1940. (1950 Census of Population, Volume IV, Part 3B, Nonwhite Population by Race; Sixteenth Census of the United States: 1940, Characteristics of the Nonwhite Population by Race.) Data on Eskimos, Aleuts, and Hawaiians for 1950 are available from the 1950 Census of Population, Volume II, Characteristics of the Population, Territories and Possessions, Parts 51-54.

Further historical information on Native Americans may be found in the following major volumes:

Sixteenth Census of the United States: 1940, Territories and Possessions. (Issued in 9 parts.)

Fifteenth Census of the United States: 1930, The Indian Population of the United States and Alaska.

Fifteenth Census of the United States: 1930, Outlying Territories and Possessions.

Indian Population in the United States and Alaska: 1910.

Eleventh Census of the United States: 1890 Report on Indians Taxed and Indians not Taxed in the United States.

Reports from earlier censuses are sometimes impossible to obtain because stocks may be exhausted or the document may be permanently out of print. In these instances, Census Depository Libaries located throughout the country render an invaluable service by keeping such publications available.

Geographic and Demographic Perspectives

The Native American population has more than doubled since 1940, increasing from 431,000 in 1940 to 927,000 in 1970. However, during this period, their proportion of the total U.S. population increased only by about one-tenth of a percentage point to 0.5 percent in 1970. According to the census results, the American Indian population has grown at a faster rate than the other Native American groups. Since 1940, the percent increase for Indians has been 130 percent, compared with 12 percent for Aleuts, 81 percent for Eskimos, and 55 percent for Hawaiians. In 1970, American Indians comprised 85 percent of the Native American population, Aleuts and Eskimos 4 percent, and Hawaiians 11 percent.

Approximately one-half of all American Indians were concentrated in the West in 1970; an additional one-fourth were in the South. More than one-half of all Indians lived in the following five States in 1970, in order of size: Oklahoma, Arizona, California, New Mexico, and North Carolina.

One of the most dramatic shifts of the American Indian population was the large movement from rural areas to urban areas of the country during the 1960 decade. In 1970, almost one-half of the Indian population resided in urban areas; whereas in 1960, the urban proportion was less than one-third.

Demographic statistics reflect significant differences between the urban and rural Indian populations and, in most

instances, rural Indians lag behind urban Indians. For example, over 4 out of 10 urban Indians 25 years old and over were high school graduates in 1970, as compared with about 1 out of 4 rural Indians. The median income of urban Indian families was $7,300 in 1969 as compared with $4,700 for rural Indians. The rural population includes the reservations, which have the lowest educational and income levels. In 1970, the Bureau of the Census identified 115 major reservations. Approximately 214,000 American Indians lived on one of these reservations.

The three largest tribes among the Indian population are the Navajo, the Cherokee, and the Sioux (Dakota). The Navajo tribe comprises about 13 percent of the total Indian population, Cherokees 9 percent, and Sioux (Dakota) 6 percent. The Navajos reside primarily in Arizona and New Mexico, the Cherokees in Oklahoma and California, and the Sioux (Dakota) in South Dakota.

In contrast to the Indian population, the majority of Aleuts and Eskimos still lived in rural areas in 1970 -- over 90 percent of Eskimos and 78 percent of Aleuts were rural residents. Although Aleuts and Eskimos were predominantly rural in 1970, they lived in different sections of the State. Two-thirds of the Eskimo population were found in rural portions of four census divisions in Alaska in 1970 -- Bethel, Kobuk, Nome, and Wade Hampton -- along the western coast of Alaska. Three out of five Aleuts resided along the extreme southwestern coastal area of Alaska in the Aleutian Islands and Kodiak Census Divisions.

Differences also existed in educational and income levels between the Aleuts and Eskimos. For example, about 34 percent of Aleuts (25 to 34 years old) were high school graduates in 1970; only about one-fifth of the Eskimos in this age group completed a high school education. Of the two groups, Aleuts had a higher median family income in 1969 of $8,100, as compared with $4,800 for Eskimo families.

In 1970, 7 out of 10 Native Hawaiians resided in the State of Hawaii. Hawaiians are the most urban of the Native American groups. Over one-half of all Hawaiians live in the Honolulu SMSA. California had the second largest concentration of Hawaiians in the United States with 14,300 persons. Two other States which have over 1,000 Hawaiians are Washington and New York. Hawaiians had the highest income and educational levels of the Native American groups.

Table 1.--Race of the Native American Population for the United States: 1890-1970

(Minus sign (-) denotes decrease)

Year	Native Americans		American Indian	Eskimo	Aleut	Hawaiian
	Number	Percent of total U.S. population				
1970	927,213	0.5	792,730	28,233	6,292	99,958
1960	654,072	0.4	523,591	22,323	5,755	102,403
1950	463,364	0.3	357,499	15,882	3,892	86,091
1940	430,737	0.3	345,252	1/ 15,576	1/ 5,599	64,310
1930	394,212	0.3	343,352	19,028		50,860
1920	302,827	0.3	244,437	2/ 13,698	2/ 2,942	41,750
1910	315,474	0.3	276,927	14,087		38,547
1900	274,852	0.4	237,196	(NA)	(NA)	37,656
1890	288,875	0.5	248,253	(NA)	(NA)	3/ 40,622
Percent change over preceding census						
1970	41.8	(X)	51.4	26.5	9.3	-2.4
1960	41.2	(X)	46.5	40.6	47.9	18.9
1950	7.6	(X)	3.5	2.0	-30.5	33.9
1940	12.4	(X)	0.6	1/ 11.3		26.4
1930	26.6	(X)	40.5	14.4		21.8
1920	-0.5	(X)	-11.7	2/ 18.1		8.3
1910	10.7	(X)	16.8	(NA)	(NA)	2.4
1900	-4.9	(X)	-4.5	(NA)	(NA)	-7.3

Note: The data for Aleuts and Eskimos are for Alaska only. The 1970 data for Hawaiians are for the United States, excluding Alaska; data prior to 1970 are for Hawaii only.

NA Not available.
X Not applicable.

1/ Based on 1939 count.

2/ Partially estimated.

3/ Figures derived from the census taken as of December 28, 1890, under the direction of the Hawaiian government.

Source: U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census.

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A SAMPLING OF CURRENT LITERATURE ON NATIVE AMERICANS

Below is an annotated list of several titles representative of the current literature on Native Americans. The list is broad based and very superficial, but we hope that these purposefully selected titles will serve as an introduction to the literature from which geographic perspectives on Native Americans might be developed or expanded.

1. Howard M. Bahr, Bruce A. Chadwick, and Robert C. Day (eds.), Native Americans Today: Sociological Perspectives (NY: Harper and Row, 1972).

   A collection of 42 papers covering a wide range of sociological perspectives (e.g., prejudice and discrimination, education, acculturation and identity, urbanization and urban Indians, etc.) A very useful overview of modern American Indian social characteristics and cultural orientation.

2. L.J. Bean and H.W. Lawton. Patterns of Indian Burning in California: Ecology and Ethnohistory (Ramona, Calif.: Ballena Press, 1973).

   Documentation of Indian burning in California, and explanations of the phenomenon from evolutionary-ecological and economic perspectives.

3. William A. Brophy and Sophie D. Aberle (comps.). The Indian: America's Unfinished Business (Norman, Okla.: University of Oklahoma Press. 1966).

   The final report of the Commission on the Rights, Liberties, and Responsibilities of the American Indian - a statement on the status of the American Indian as tempered by the 1950s termination policy.

4. Vinson Brown, Voices of Earth and Sky: The Vision Life of the Native Americans and their Culture Heroes (Harrisburg, Pa.: Stackpole Books, 1974).

   An exploration into the nature and meaning of Native American visions and the vision search - a provocative discussion of the basis and expression of cultural values.

5. Michael F. Doran, "Antebellum Cattle Herding in the Indian Territory", The Geographical Review, vol. 66 (1976), pp. 48-58.

   Describes the role of cattle herding in the economy of the "Five Civilized Tribes" and characteristics of this practice in the region occupied by these tribes prior to the Civil War.

6. Hazel W. Hertzberg, The Search for an American Indian Identity: Modern Pan-Indian Movements (Syracuse, N.Y.: Syracuse University Press, 1971).

   An enlightening review of the development and nature of recent Pan-Indian Movements. Early pan-Indian movements constitute an introduction to the topic, but the greater portion of the book is concerned with Reform, Fraternal, and Religious pan-Indian movements of more recent times.

7. HUD. The North American Indian: A Bibliography of Community Development (Washington, D.C.: GPO, 1975).

   Four hundred three titles, and list, by state and tribal body, of comprehensive planning reports.

8. C.M. Hudson (ed.) Red, White, and Black: Symposium on Indians in the Old South (Athens, Ga.: University of Georgia Press, 1971).

   An effort to assess and organize research on the neglected field of southeastern anthropology. Contains eight papers and discussions.

9. Jesse D. Jennings. Prehistory of North America (N.Y.: McGraw-Hill, 1974), 2nd Ed.

   Provides a simple, well organized outline of prehistoric North America.

10. Lawrence C. Kelly, The Navajo Indians and Federal Indian Policy, 1900-1935 (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1968).

    An historical study of the turbulent relationship between the Navajo Indians and federal government policy early in the twentieth century, and the internal matters which gave rise to the strong Navajo tribe of today. A very useful book providing insight into the interplay between politics, economy, and bureaucracy typical of reservation conditions during the early 20th Century.

11. William Longacre (ed.) Reconstructing Prehistoric Pueblo Societies (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1970).

    A collection of papers presenting differing perspectives and methodologies of examining and interpreting the prehistory of Pueblo societies.

12. J.W. Marken. The Indians and Eskimos of North America: A Bibliography of Books in Print Through 1972 (Vermillion, South Dakota: Dakota Press, 1973).

    Lists 4050 titles.

13. R. Nichols and G. Adams (eds.) The American Indian: Past and Present (Waltham, Mass.: Xerox, 1971).

Contains 24 papers tracing the development and history of Indian - United States relations.

14. E. Neils Reservation to City (Chicago: University of Chicago Printing Dept., 1971).

An analysis of the relocation program by a geographer.

15. Stan Steiner. The New Indians (N.Y.: Dell, 1968).

A review of the development of the "Red Power" movement during the late 1960s.

16. Imre Sutton, Indian Land Tenure: Bibliographic Essays and a Guide to the Literature (N.Y.: Clearwater Publishing Company, 1975).

This is one of the very few book-length works by a geographer dealing entirely with Native Americans. The common theme of these essays, and the excellent bibliography, make this a very important and useful book for geographers interested in Native Americans.

17. S.L. Tyler, A History of Indian Policy (Washington: GPO, 1975).

A reliable, organized review of colonial and United States Indian policy. Emphasizes policy of the recent past.

18. USDA. American Indians in Transition (Washington, D.C.: USDA, 1975).

A brief survey of changes in selected socio-cultural parameters during the 1960-70 decade.

19. USDC. Federal and State Indian Reservations and Indian Trust Areas (Washington, D.C.: GPO, 1974).

A very useful, if brief, handbook. Provides outline information for Indian reservations, trust areas, and native villages.

20. USDA. American Indians - Subject Report: 1970 Census of Population (Washington D.C.: GPO, 1973).

Reports selected 1970 census data.

21. Andrew P. Vayda (ed.) Peoples and Cultures of the Pacific (Garden City, N.Y.: Natural History Press, 1968).

A varied introduction to the Pacific cultures. Contains 24 papers, arranged both topically and regionally.

22. Anthony Wallace. The Death and Rebirth of the Seneca (N.Y.: Knopf, 1970).

A very highly regarded documentation fo the collapse and reorganization of the Seneca Indians in the face of European domination and manipulation.

23. Mary E. Young, Redskins, Ruffleshirts, and Rednecks: Indian Allotments in Alabama and Mississippi, 1830-1860 (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1961).

A study of changing land tenure and Indian acculturation in the deep south during and after the "removal" period.